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Representatives of North Tel Aviv neighbourhood committees burn tyres outside the Ministry of Energy offices in Tel Aviv yesterday in protest against the planned construction of the Reading Three power plant. One of the signs reads, 'We want clean city air.' (Photo by Brutmann)

Activists here fear new policy part of 'deal' with Israel

## Thousands of Jews may soon leave Soviet Union

**By LOUIS RAPOPORT**  
A top Soviet official indicated yesterday that thousands of Soviet Jews will soon be able to leave the USSR. But Soviet Jewry activists in Israel, including Natan Sharansky, expressed concern that the Soviets would impose limitations on Mikhail Gorbachev's proclaimed liberalization policy and allow only a token number of Jews out. They would include only a few well-known refuseniks, whose release would justify closing the gates on tens of thousands of other Jews who wish to leave.

Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens, who is in charge of Soviet-Jewish affairs in the government, reacted to the report last night by saying: "Every Jew out is a Jew saved from behind the Iron Curtain.... It's important that the Soviet Jewry activists understand that we won't call off the fight until every last Jew is out."

There has been increasing concern among some of the activists that a deal has been struck between Israel and the Kremlin, whereby the Soviets will be given a role in an international peace conference on the Middle East in exchange for resumption of ties with Israel - broken off after the 1967 Six Day War - and the release of several thousand Soviet Jews, including prominent refuseniks.

But Arens denied that any such agreement had been reached with the Soviets. "There can be no normalization as long as they deny Soviet Jewry their basic rights," he said.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov told Reuters in Moscow yesterday that 500

exit visas were issued in January under a revised Soviet emigration policy contained in a new law that took effect on January 1. He said that "several thousand cases are under review. I think they'll finish this job of reviewing within several months."

Only 904 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union last year, the second lowest annual total since a peak of some 51,000 in 1979.

Meanwhile, the French government is looking into the possibility of providing temporary camps for thousands of Jews who might be released from the USSR in the near future, according to a report from Paris.

President Mitterrand has reportedly offered Gorbachev French cooperation if the Soviets allow many Jews to leave, including the use of French planes to transfer Jews to Israel.

Arens said last night that Israel has been talking about a possible French role for some time. "Air France could fly directly from Moscow to Tel Aviv," he said.

Sharansky, who was released from Soviet prison almost exactly a year ago, said last night that the current Soviet move was predictable - and that he had indeed predicted it last month in a *New York Times* opinion piece. "I said that Gorbachev's next step would be a dramatic increase from the (dismally low) 900 figure, and that this would seem like a great, liberal step.... He could release 3,000 or 6,000 to win over Western opinion - but he has made it very clear within the Soviet Union that he will not permit any massive emigration."

Sharansky said that the West should not react to every gesture, but should propose to "do business" with the Soviets on a scaled basis - if

Likud, Aguda press claims for settlers and yeshivot

## Treasury fears package may cost NIS 190m.

**By AVI TEMKIN**  
Post Economic Reporter  
The Treasury's worst fears seemed to be materializing yesterday as the Likud and Agudat Yisrael successfully drove home demands for additional state funding for West Bank settlements and yeshivot.

Such funding would apparently be part of the package deal between the Labour Party and the Likud that would include approval of a NIS 266 million rescue package for United Kibbutz Movement kibbutzim.

The West Bank settlers yesterday presented Finance Minister Moshe Nissim with a document

detailing their budgetary demands. These include the immediate transfer of NIS 47.5 million and another unspecified sum to be transferred later on. Treasury officials believe the final sum will be close to NIS 190 m.

In addition to these sums the Likud is willing to support the demands for NIS 30 million put forward yesterday by Aguda MK Avraham Shapira, the chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee. He repeated an earlier threat that unless additional money were granted to yeshivot and other religious institutions he would use his power as committee chairman to prevent approval of the state budget for the next fiscal year. "As long as

the budget was a closed issue I did not make any demands; but now the reins have been loosened," he told the committee's members yesterday, in voicing his new demands.

The Likud says that any additional money for yeshivot and settlements could come from the budget reserve, and thus would not lead to excessive spending. This argument was rejected by Treasury officials yesterday. They said that the reserves were intended for unexpected needs that arise during the course of the year. To earmark the reserves for specified purposes even before the fiscal year began would be equivalent to increasing the budget.

U.S. relaxing tension off Lebanon

**WASHINGTON.** - The U.S. Defence Department may soon allow one of the two marine amphibious groups now sailing in the eastern Mediterranean to leave for home to discourage speculation about a military strike in Lebanon, informed sources said yesterday.

The Pentagon has also cleared the aircraft carrier Kennedy to begin a port call in Haifa today, and ordered four of the carrier's smaller escorting warships to sail for home, spokesman Robert Sims said.

The departure of the escort ships will leave the Kennedy battle group with six warships - the carrier, two

cruisers, two destroyers and one frigate.

The sources said the moves were part of an apparent bid by Washington to de-dramatize the presence of the Sixth Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean.

The ships, carrying 1,900 Marines, were to be replaced in line with a normal rotation of units by a second U.S. detachment, also carrying 1,900 Marines, the sources said.

The second unit, currently heading east from Spain towards the area, is not expected to operate as close to the Lebanese coast as the first detachment, the sources added.

The Kennedy will be accompanied

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Soldiers battle kids in Balata's mini-war

**By JOEL GREENBERG**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
BALATA. - "I'll tell you what Balata is. Balata is kids throwing stones at soldiers, and soldiers firing back. That's Balata."

Several men are talking to visitors at a coffee house on the outskirts of this refugee camp near Nablus. Balata, population 12,000, the largest camp in the West Bank, has become a major hotbed of unrest and the site of almost daily clashes between troops and child demonstrators.

There is little hope in the men's conversation, no talk of grand solutions to the Palestinian problem, only pointed observations about the miniature battles waged inside the camp between their children and the soldiers, only a few years older.

"The army has beefed up its forces here in the last few months, but if it would withdraw and leave the camp alone things would quieten down," says one man. "There's no denying the need for patrols to keep the peace, but one or two would be enough, not a constant presence."

"The army's provocations are to blame - the beating and arresting of young children. What do you expect little kids to do after they've been through that. Or course parents don't want their children to throw stones, but they can't keep their eyes on them constantly."

Children are everywhere inside Balata - peering out of doorways of grey and yellow concrete houses, running down the dusty, rubble-strewn streets and alleys. The large population of children in Balata has overloaded its four schools, and classes are held in two daily shifts. A youth club at the camp, shut down by the military government five years ago on the grounds that it served as a centre for anti-Israeli activity, has remained closed.

At midday, mainly women are to be found at home telling the story of a war against children, complete



with battle dead, wounded and prisoners.

The pregnant mother of a boy shot and killed by soldiers in the wave of unrest that swept the West Bank in December, speaks to guests in her spacious living room, bare except for a row of chairs set against a dirty wall. She sits under a picture of her dead son; she seems full of spirit, despite her recent tragedy.

She tells of children being beaten and slapped by soldiers, of troops using tear gas, pursuing children into houses to arrest them, and peering into a mosque where they've taken refuge. She tells of the Israelis in charge of the camp: the army's Captain Charlie and other security officials. She speaks of them with the familiarity of a close adversary.

After sunset, she says, the camp closes down. Though no curfew is imposed, no one leaves his house at night, for fear of being shot by nervous soldiers patrolling deserted streets.

In another house, a woman describes how her brother was wounded by rubber bullets when soldiers entered her home in pursuit of

## Chernobyl polluted herbs were sold here

**By D'VORA BEN SHAUL**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Around the middle of last May large quantities of fresh herbs, including rarities like thyme and tarragon, became available on local markets. These herbs are usually grown for export. They were marketed here because they had been found to have radiation levels too high to be acceptable in European countries, and had either not been shipped at all or had been returned.

The Chernobyl nuclear disaster that spewed vast amounts of radioactive material into the atmosphere was only a few days old when air, ground and rainwater in Israel were all showing signs of radioactivity. Although the levels were far lower than those recorded in many European countries, they were vastly greater than the amounts usually present here.

According to the Israel Atomic Energy Commission, which monitored radiation levels in Yavne in the south-central area of the country, the average Israeli adult absorbed 3.1 millirems as a result of the Chernobyl catastrophe. This is equal to slightly over 3 per cent of the normal background radiation per year, which is usually present and represents about 1.6 per cent of the average dose received by most people from trans-oceanic flights and standard medical procedures (excluding radioactive isotope examinations and multiple X-rays).

Most of this added radiation exposure came from food. While the Health Ministry knew exactly how much exposure was taking place, at no time did they tell the public that these herbs were carrying more than the usual amounts of radiation. On May 12, for instance, fresh dill showed a level of radioactive iodine (I-131) of some 2,500 becquerels per kilogram, while parsley contained 1,500 bq/kg of I-131. Usually written as bq/kg, one becquerel represents the atomic disintegration of one atom per second.

Other products showing levels of radiation significantly higher than usual were celery, lettuce, green tomatoes and yellow beans, although none were as high as the level in fresh herbs.

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Two members of the Polish youth delegation currently visiting Israel smile during a reception given for them by Education Minister Yitzhak Navon yesterday.

## 21st Israel festival

# World bridge stars arrive for tourney

By HANAN SHER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Three former world champions arrived in Israel yesterday, the vanguard of an unprecedented array of luminaries due to participate in the 21st Israel Bridge Festival that begins at the Tel Aviv Exhibition Grounds tomorrow.

The arrivals are Kathie Wei, Julie Radin and Carol Sanders, all members of the U.S. team that won several women's world championships during the first half of the decade. Wei-Radin are leading exponents of the Precision bidding system, developed by C.C. Wei, the former's husband.

They are to be joined by Tom Sanders, the president of the American Contract Bridge League, the world's largest national bridge federation. A top player himself, Tom Sanders has partnered his wife Carol in world-class events, and was a frequent partner of the late Barry Crane, the ACBL's all-time Master Point winner.

According to David Bardach, chairman of the Israel Bridge Federation, members of the Hungarian national team are due to arrive over the weekend. Their visit will be the first by an East European team in two decades.

Also expected are the premier European pair, Per Olaf Sundelin and T. Kolberg of Sweden. Sundelin is one of the Continent's best-known players, and a former European champion.

Israel Bridge Federation officials anticipate additional entries, including top pairs from West Germany, France, England and Switzerland. And they are still waiting for a definite word from Riki Markus, long the world's top-rated woman player, and from Italian star Pietro Forquet, a former member of the Italian Blue Team.

The stars will be joined by more than a thousand local players, including Shmuel Lev, Elyakim Shaufel, Julian Frydreich, Michael Hochzeit, Shalom Seligman and David Birman, members of the Israel National Team that took second place in the European Championships, and third in the 1985 World Bridge Olympiad.

The festival begins with a two-session mixed pairs event (4 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. tomorrow). The one-session individual begins at 10 a.m. Sunday, followed by at three-session open pairs (8 p.m. Sunday and Monday, and 5 p.m. Tuesday). A mixed teams-of-four will be contested on Wednesday (5 p.m. and 8.30 p.m.), followed by the open teams-of-four (4 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. on Thursday, and 4 p.m. on Saturday, February 14). There will also be a one-session women's pairs next Saturday morning.

Cash prizes for the festival are the largest on record, totalling \$6,100 for the six events. All pairs competitions will be scored by computer, and will feature computer-dealt hands.

## Tough comptroller with a soft side

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The new state comptroller, Ya'acov Malz, will criticize the public administration by "wrapping tough verdicts when necessary in pleasant words," just as he did as a Tel Aviv District Court judge.

The 63-year-old jurist, installed as the fourth state comptroller at Beit Hanassi yesterday, was known for his pleasant, soft-spoken manner in the courts, but also for his readiness to set punishments to fit the crime. Moshe Levi, who killed his wife and paralysed his girlfriend by injecting them with petrol in January 1984, was sentenced by Judge Malz to 46 years in prison.

But Malz's soft side was apparent at the ceremony, which was attended — at his special request to Beit Hanassi — by his two daughters and sons-in-law, his seven grandchildren and his mother- and father-in-law. He proudly displayed to photographers a crayon drawing by his grandchildren who graphically wished him success in his new position.

Malz, born in Poland and brought to this country by his parents at the age of 18 months, said that pleasant words do not minimize the brunt of criticism, but make it more palatable.

President Herzog, who officially made the appointment at the recommendation of the Knesset House Committee, said that the job of



Malz and wife (N. Shorer/Media)

comptroller was a vital one, and that Malz was highly qualified.

Faults in the public administration could be repaired, he said, only if the comptroller were strengthened as an independent, professional and powerful institution. The waste in the public sector, said Herzog, required greater efforts to make it more efficient.

He thanked Malz's successor, Yitzhak Tunik, who served for five years and who was Malz's partner when they were both young lawyers. Also present at the ceremony was the second state comptroller, Dr. Yitzhak Nebenzahl, who served for 20 years.

## Mekorot turns Safad tap

By ANDY COURT

The Mekorot water company plans to cut off Safad's water supply this morning, leaving the city's 13,000 residents with only two hours a day during which they can draw water from their taps.

Safad owes Mekorot NIS 1 million which has been outstanding since November, according to Mekorot spokesman Mordechai Jakobovitz.

"We can't give water for free," Jakobovitz said. "All efforts to come to an agreement haven't amounted to anything. We don't have any other way."

But Dan Ben-Canaan, spokesman for the Union of Local Authorities, accused Mekorot of irresponsibility.

"Mekorot should turn off the taps at the Treasury and not in Safad because the Treasury has withheld money from the local council."

Safad's situation is similar to a number of municipalities which have not yet received Treasury funds they had counted on. The Israeli Arab city of Umm el Fahm still has its water supply restricted because it also has not been able to come to terms with Mekorot. Ben-Canaan said.

Mekorot's first actions against Safad began on Tuesday when it reduced the city's normal supply by one-third. But this morning's cuts will reduce the city's water supply to five per cent of the normal amount, Jakobovitz said.

## CHERNOBYL

Levinger, head of Hadassah Hospital's Radiation Safety Section, the amount of excess radiation absorbed by the average adult following the Soviet accident was "insignificant, amounting to about the amount received on a transatlantic flight."

But not all experts agree. Both Dr. Helen Caldwell, a pediatrician at Boston Children's Hospital Medical Centre, and Dr. Alice Stewart, who has studied the linkage between radioactivity and juvenile cancer for the past 25 years, maintain that any additional radiation, however small the dose, is potentially dangerous to the fetus and to the small child. Stewart, testifying before the British Parliamentary Committee on Radiation Hazards, showed results of a study indicating that even one pelvic X-ray in the last week of pregnancy doubled the chances of the child developing juvenile cancer.

Even if the amounts absorbed here were small compared with those absorbed from the same accident in Europe, they still represented what is known as a thyroid equivalent dose of 60 millirems per adult, and according to most statistics far more in the case of children. The recommended thyroid equivalent dose permitted for children in most countries is not in excess of 75 millirems per year.

But aside from the endless debates concerning how much radiation is hazardous to health, the public's right to know is of great concern to many people.

Shirley Benjamin, the secretary of the Israel Agency for Nuclear Information, says that a pregnant woman, for instance, can decide not to fly during her pregnancy and is free to assume the risk only if she cares to. This is not the case when arbitrary decisions on behalf of the public, who are deprived of the information they need to make choices, that affect their very lives.

## Women cantors at JTS to get full status

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — The Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) will accord full cantorial status to women graduates of its Cantors' Institute. Two women who are scheduled to complete the Cantors' Institute programme at the end of this academic year will be awarded hazzan diplomas at JTS graduation ceremonies in May.

This was announced by JTS Chancellor Ismar Schorsch at a news conference here this week.

Until now, women who completed the five-year study programme at the Cantors' Institute received only an academic degree — Bachelor of Sacred Music — while male graduates received both the academic degree and the hazzan's certificate.

The long-awaited decision by the JTS to ordain women as cantors is likely to spark a major controversy within the Conservative movement, of which the JTS is the academic flagship.

The movement is still sorely divided over a 1983 JTS decision to ordain women rabbis and

the subsequent decision by the Rabbinical Assembly (of the Conservative movement) to accept women as congregational rabbis.

The Reform movement has had women rabbis and cantors since the 1970s, while the Orthodox stream forbids women to take up either role.

Rabbi Ronald Price, Executive Director of the Union for Traditional Conservative Judaism (UTCJ) told *The Jerusalem Post*: "For the seminary to ordain women as cantors would be a serious mistake as well as a more serious violation of Jewish law than ordaining women as rabbis. From a halachic perspective, leading the prayer service is more crucial than teaching."

Over the past 12 months, the UTCJ frequently threatened to break away from the Conservative movement and form a new denomination if the Conservatives continued to move in what Price saw as a leftward direction.

However, according to Schorsch, "This decision is really a continuation of the decision taken in 1983 [to ordain women rabbis]. What I have done now is merely to apply the decision

of 1983 to the Cantors' Institute. Like the women students who receive diplomas from the Rabbinical School, the students at the Cantors' Institute will be awarded the hazzan's diploma on the basis of equal obligation... which makes it possible for women to change their status in Jewish law. Women in both Rabbinical School and the Cantors' Institute will have the same obligations as men."

Schorsch explained that both the decisions on women rabbis and women cantors were based on a halachic response (*teshuva*) from the early 1970s by the esteemed Rabbi Joel Roth, stipulating that women who voluntarily take on the time-honoured obligations of traditional Judaism — such as wearing tallit and tefillin and attending three prayer *minyanim* each day can be halachically accepted as *shlichot izbur* (public emissaries).

Schorsch argued: "On the basis of the response by Prof. Roth, there is no difference [between ordaining women as rabbis and cantors]. It is really a problem of responsibility being commensurate with obligation."

Schorsch noted that at a meeting last fall

with JTS female cantorial students, the women had made it clear to him that "they had no problem complying with the requirements of the Roth *teshuvah*, and in fact they were conducting their lives in accordance with that *teshuvah* to begin with," Schorsch commented. "[With that meeting] a major impediment was resolved."

He acknowledged that his decision on women cantors was "a major departure from previous practice." But he contended that "the role of women in religious life in Judaism has been an issue for 200 years. The opening of positions of religious leadership is merely the completion of a process of equalization that began some 200 years ago with emancipation."

Schorsch said he had "no illusions" that he would be able to convince the UTCJ and other right-wing Conservative Jews to back his decision to allow women cantors. "But," he continued, "I think there is broad support in the Conservative movement [for the ordination of women cantors]. I think we are moving in the direction of the popular will within the movement."

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## Weather hits fish in Galilee

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The winter weather, both cold and warm, has cost the country's fish ponds a million shekels and the season is not yet over.

In Upper Galilee, the low temperatures have killed "several hundred tons" of the sub-tropical St. Peter's fish — at over NIS 3,000 the ton.

In the Beit She'an and Jezreel valleys, the warm weather has kept a large flock of pelicans in the country and they are eating tons of carp in the ponds.

The secretary of the Fish Breeders' Union, Amnon Levin, told *The Jerusalem Post* that the frost damage was partially paid for by the natural disasters insurance fund, but losses caused by the pelicans were not covered.

The St. Peter's fish need warm water and tend to die when the water temperature dips below about 18°. In the past, the breeders protected themselves by allowing Upper Galilee to market its fish out of turn to save it from the frost. But this year, this has become impracticable because the breeders have greatly expanded the breeding of the St. Peter's fish which fetch higher prices than carp.

The breeders are planning to market 4,500 tons of St. Peter's fish to sell at a retail price of NIS 4 — NIS 8 a kilogram.

The sale of carp at the controlled price of NIS 4.50 a kilogram is also picking up unexpectedly and is likely to top 7,000 tons this year. 15 per cent more than last year. This increase is explained by the cheap price, which has increased demand after years of declining sales during which the demand for gefilte fish fell.

Meanwhile, the secretary of the fishermen's union, Arye Tsur, yesterday reported a "fine season" for the trawlermen both off the coast and on Lake Kinneret, as a result of the heavy rains which wash rich nutrients into the water and attract the fish.

## Inquiry demanded into fate of lost children

HAIFA (Itim). — The discovery here earlier this week of unidentified bodies in a section of the Sephardi cemetery at Hof Hacarmel has given rise to renewed demands for the appointment of a committee to investigate the disappearance of scores of Yemenite children in the early 1950s.

The chairman of the Rosh Ha'ayin local council, Yigal Yosef, who also heads the public committee that is pressing for an investigation into the disappearance of the Yemenite children, said yesterday that he had sent a request to Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Peres and a number of other ministers, as well as the attorney-general.

(Continued from Page One)

youths who had pelted them with stones. She claims her brother was shot inside the house, though the army says he was hit outside. The incident led to a brawl between soldiers and a crowd of camp residents who had gathered at the scene.

The yellow-painted frame of an Uzi rifle, mounted souvenir-style on the wall, adorns her living room. Her family of 13 lives in four rooms, and has two television sets. A cabinet holds dozens of cassettes — popular music as well as political and religious songs. More and more camp residents are turning to Islam, she says. "Not out of despair, it's just that they've seen their way back to Allah."

A high-school pupil walking home with friends stops to tell of his experiences at the Far'ah jail, where, he says with some pride, he was held four times for 18-day stretches. According to camp residents, there are scores of Balata youths at Far'ah: almost every household in the camp has had a member arrested at one time or another. The teenager has picked up some useful Hebrew in Far'ah: "Up against the wall," "Warden, give me a match," "You will be released today."

As he speaks, a car pulls up and a nattily dressed youth, just released from a brief stint at Far'ah, steps out. His hair is styled, he wears a pressed white shirt and a black jacket, and he is given a hero's welcome. "Congratulations, welcome back," the high school pupils say, hugging and kissing him.

## BALATA

Smiling, he recounts his experiences. "I was charged with membership in a terror organization. They had me outside for four days, interrogations all day long. They tied my hands and beat me all over, wherever they could. Then I was put in an isolation cell, before being allowed to join the other prisoners."

An army patrol approaches and apprehension creeps through the crowd. The soldiers, guns and billy-clubs at the ready, walk in groups of eight, in two rows on either side of the camp roads. They wear helmets with plastic eye protectors.

The soldiers spot this reporter and a colleague and call to us in Arabic. When they learn we are journalists, they ask us to wait while they report

our presence. "Are they foreign reporters or ours?" asks a voice on the radio set. "Ours," is the answer. "Kick them out," the voice commands.

The soldiers escort us out of Balata, reporting our position to units in the area. When we are outside the camp, the voice on the radio asks if we are "causing problems." "Whatever you do, no violence," the voice tells the soldiers.

There is no need for violence. We talk with a commander who has driven up in a jeep and informs us that Balata is "a closed military zone." We ask for a written order, but none exists. "That can always be arranged," says the commander. "In any case, as the person responsible for the area, I'm telling you you can't go in. Someone could slaughter you in there."

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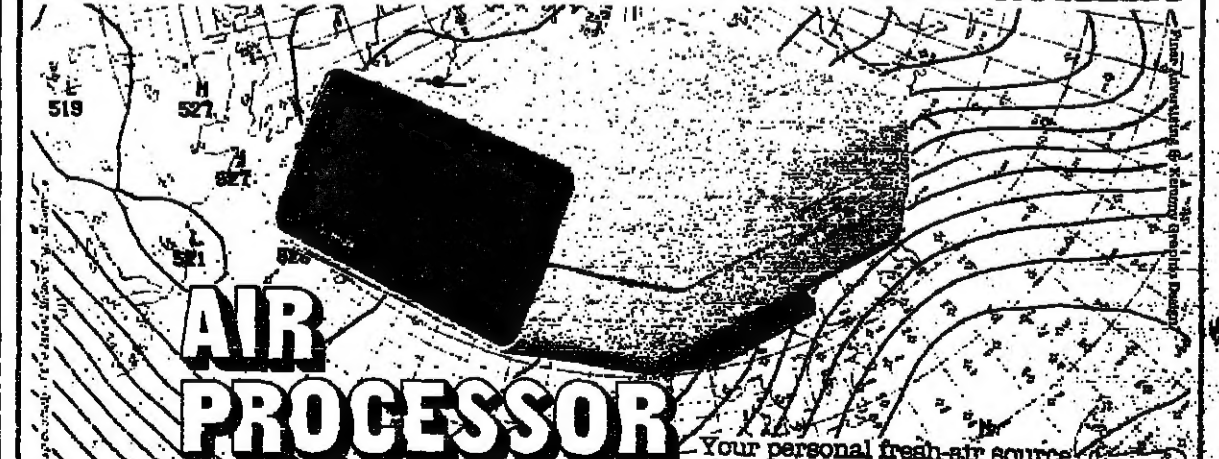
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# Bellicose soldier

Hirsh Goodman



over the IDF after the Yom Kippur War. His main qualification was that he was one of the few generals not directly associated with either the failure of 1973, or the "war of the generals" that followed.

What was different this time, however, was the intensity of Levy's opposition to Shomron and the no-holds-barred fight between the two during the battle — a fight that will undoubtedly leave scars on the reputations of both men.

Levy, usually the perfect gentleman, behaved in a manner uncharacteristic of himself and unbecoming to the office he holds.

Shomron, for his part, managed to alienate many of the officers he is going to have to work closest with, by the manner in which he handled himself. How this will ultimately affect his ability to perform is an open question. What is clear, however, is that

EIGHT YEARS ago a younger, slimmer Dan Shomron, still basking in the glory of Entebbe, received me and a colleague — Yehoshua Ezer of *Ma'ariv* — in his office at Southern Command. The peace process with Egypt had necessitated a massive redeployment of the Israel Defence Forces and Shomron was arguing that just moving the army, instead of using the opportunity to restructure the IDF, was a mistake.

With stunning brilliance, Shomron outlined his vision for the Israel Defence Forces: a small, highly sophisticated and highly mobile army that would operate on a doctrine of surgical response. Money, which he predicted would become more scarce, should be ploughed into quality, not quantity, unlike what followed the traumatic surprise of the 1973 Yom Kippur War. The IDF had become a heavy, laborious machine, bedevilled by dissension and bureaucracy. It was time to put the David back into the Goliath, he argued.

While the presentation of his argument was compelling, there was something profoundly disturbing about the meeting. It was only many years later, at another interview (this time on the Lavi), that it became clear that it was Shomron's absolute intolerance of any opinion other than his own, his open criticism of his superiors — so open as to be interpreted as disloyalty — that had soured an otherwise stimulating experience.

THAT LACK of loyalty was at the heart of Moshe Levy's opposition to Shomron as his successor. For the four years that he has been chief of the general staff, Levy has had little but criticism from Shomron: and Shomron has made no effort whatsoever to hide his blistering observations on virtually every aspect of Levy's performance, often not caring if his words found their way into the headlines.

On several occasions, Levy was forced to reprove his deputy in public. Shomron's call to kill the Lavi and to reinstate Eli Geva into the ranks of the army are but two recent examples.

That Levy and Shomron were headed towards confrontation as the time for a change approached was clear from the outset. The two men, together with Avigdor (Yanosh) Ben-Gal, had been bitter contestants for Rafael Eitan's post in 1983, and Levy was forced to accept Shomron as his deputy as the latter's price for staying in uniform.

The then defence minister, Moshe Arens, who made the decision, was loath to lose both Ben-Gal and Shomron, each of whom was threatening to leave the army if he lost the contest. Ben-Gal in fact retired. Shomron remained, with what he considered was an inviolable promise that he would be the next CGS.

GIVEN THIS background, which is at best only a partial reflection of the intensity of the dislike the two men feel for each other, it is

not surprising that Moshe Levy would have preferred someone else to step into his shoes when he leaves the IDF as its top officer this April.

Levy, in fact, did much more to block Shomron's appointment than merely not support him. A year ago, in a move that stunned military observers, he initiated a major reshuffle in the upper echelons of the IDF with that specific purpose in mind.

The "hidden agenda" behind Levy's moving Yitzhak Mordechai to Southern Command, Uri Saguy to the Ground Forces Command and Amir Drori to the post of his own deputy (almost simultaneously with changes in Central and Northern Commands, military intelligence and the training division) was to position Drori, his preferred candidate, to succeed him.

When this failed, Levy heightened his opposition to Shomron at the political level, first appealing to Defence Minister Rabin to reconsider the appointment, and then asking him to defer the rotation for a year, or at least several months. By this time, Levy hoped, Drori would have established himself as a solid deputy; while Shomron, who for the past six months has been "on ice" and without an active command, would have further removed himself from consideration.

Levy also began to actively push the candidacy of Ori Orr and Ehud Barak, Shomron's chief rivals after Drori. When this also failed Levy, again in an unprecedented move, appealed direct to Prime Minister Shamir to intercede with Rabin.

OPPOSITION by previous chiefs of general staff to those named as successors has been the norm rather than the exception. Rafael Eitan was not happy about Levy, and Mordechai Gur was less than ecstatic about Eitan.

Our himself was controversial, being brought back from his relatively low-level job of military attache in Washington to take

## A political conversion

Right-wing Republican senator Jesse Helms has made a 180-degree turn with regard to Israel. From recommending the U.S. consider severing diplomatic ties with Israel, Helms now supports Israeli control of Judea and Samaria. *The Jerusalem Post's* Washington Correspondent Wolf Blitzer examines the reasons behind the change.

REPUBLICAN Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, a leader of the conservative right wing of American politics, will be honoured this summer at a dinner in New York sponsored by Israel Lubavitch leaders and their American Jewish supporters.

In the summer of 1985, he toured a Lubavitch moshav during his first and, so far, only visit to Israel and he was very impressed. The senator, who has emerged as a powerful voice in Washington, seems to feel rather comfortable with the Orthodox strain of Israeli and American Jewry. They now plan to honour him formally.

Helms was for years strongly disliked by the mainstream of the American Jewish community because of his extremely conservative views on such issues as prayer in schools and abortion as well as because of his opposition to foreign aid for Israel. But lately, there has been a political conversion as far as Israel is concerned. His 10-day stay in Israel certainly appeared to have a significant effect on him. While in Israel, he met with numerous leaders including Yitzhak Shamir, Shimon Peres and Moshe Arens as well as with many other Israelis. He also spent an afternoon at Ariel Sharon's ranch.

"I believe that Israel is vital to the survival of western civilization," Helms told a largely Jewish audience last May. And, responding to allegations that he was anti-Israeli, the Christian fundamentalist said: "Let me ask you this: How can someone who is named after King David's father be anti-Israel?"

Last month, Helms defeated Republican Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana for the important position of ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. During the six years that the Republicans controlled the majority in the Senate, Lugar served as chairman of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee even though Helms outranked him in seniority. Helms had pledged his tobacco-farming constituents in North Carolina that

he would become chairman of the Agricultural Committee.

The Democrats regained control of the Senate in the elections last November and this time Helms decided to use his seniority to seek the ranking slot on the Foreign Relations Committee, rather than Agriculture. Lugar, a moderate Republican, ran against him. Their Senate colleagues, bowing to the tradition of seniority, voted to allow Helms to accept that position. Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island has replaced Lugar as chairman of the panel.

THUS, HELMS today is a real force in Washington. He has already kicked out virtually all of the former middle-of-the-road Republican staffers on the committee, bringing in his own ideologically pure team, led by his long-time, personal foreign policy aide, Dr. Jim Lussier.

This has sent shock waves through the State Department, which has constantly been embroiled with Helms in a struggle over policy. Helms has often held up ambassadorial and other senior State Department nominations requiring Senate confirmation, in order to oppose various State Department policies. Today, he is in an even stronger position to block such appointments and to make the life of the State Department — in either a Republican or Democratic administration — generally miserable.

Helms, until recently, was never regarded as friendly toward Israel. He has always voted against the U.S. foreign aid legislation — and Israel is the single, largest recipient of economic and military assistance. He was also very outspoken in criticizing various Israeli policies, the climax being reached during Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982. At one point, he even recommended that the U.S. consider severing diplomatic relations with Israel.

Interviewed on the Cable News Network on August 7, 1982, Helms was asked whether the U.S. should deny Israel arms because of the war in Lebanon.

"Well," he replied, "you know, this is a toughie because [Prime Minister] Menachem Begin has done the impossible. He has made a palatable character out of [PLO Chairman Yasser] Arafat. And if he [Begin] doesn't watch out, the public opinion in this country is going to push this government much further than Mr. Begin ever imagined. Now, he can make all the statements he wants to, but sooner or later he's got to stop this business because the American people find repugnant the continuation of the destruction of the property of innocent people, not to mention the killing of innocent people."

CONTRAST THAT shrill language with Helms's speech on Israel last May: "I once thought that some portions of the West Bank were negotiable in the search for a settlement," he said. "But with the massive military build-up in Syria in the past six years, aided and directed by the Soviets, I do not see how any part of the territory now administered by Israel can be given up."

And later in the speech, he added: "Our psychic and religious roots spring from that soil, no matter whether we are Christian or Jewish. That's why we must consider Israeli control of all the territories it now administers as non-negotiable."

And to further underline his point, he said: "It is ironic that modern Israel is crammed along the seashore, where, in biblical times, the Philistines and Canaanites lived; while biblical Israel, the homeland of the Jews, is the very territory which the U.S. State Department wants the Jews to leave." He rejected the strategy of trying to "separate Israel from Judea and Samaria."

According to Washington insiders, Helms's 180-degree transformation was the result of several factors.

For one thing, other members of the religious right were also becoming increasingly pro-Israel during those years. They felt more comfortable with the conservative policies of

Menachem Begin and the Likud. Many leading fundamentalist preachers in America — the Rev. Pat Robertson and the Rev. Jerry Falwell, to name two of the most important — were returning from visits to Israel with strongly supportive positions which influenced many right-wing lawmakers, including Helms.

These conservatives were also impressed by Israel's growing anti-Soviet credentials. Israel, after all, was facing Soviet-armed adversaries. This further tended to reinforce their evolving, pro-Israel attitudes.

For Helms, there was also some domestic political advantage in getting the pro-Israeli community off his back. He narrowly won reelection in 1984. The American Jewish community had strongly supported his Democratic opponent, Governor Jim Hunt, with tens of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions. It was politically astute to work with the Jews, rather than against them.

BUT PERHAPS MOST important, Helms was influenced by two Jewish colleagues in the Senate, Republicans Chic Hecht of Nevada and Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota, both of whom worked very hard behind the scenes to move Helms toward a more pro-Israeli posture. It was Hecht, in fact, who was instrumental in bringing Helms to Israel.

Helms recalled the origin of the trip. He quoted Hecht as saying: "Jesse, I want you to come with me to Israel. My brother Marty and I are responsible for building a new synagogue at the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus overlooking Jerusalem. We've called it the Hecht synagogue in honour of our father, who has just turned 96 years old. I want you to be at the dedication."

"I replied that I would be honoured to go anywhere with Chic Hecht, but I would be especially honoured to attend the dedication of the Hecht synagogue. I think I am the first Baptist deacon ever to attend the dedication of a synagogue. For me, it was a deeply moving experience."



Yitzhak Shamir greets Jesse Helms during the latter's visit to Israel.

(Yossi Zamir)

Since that trip, Helms has expressed down-the-line support for Israel. There was one exception: he voted last year with the Reagan administration in favour of a missile package for Saudi Arabia.

"Having spent 10 days with him in Israel, I feel very confident about him," said Simcha Lyons, a prominent Jewish activist in St. Louis who also accompanied Helms on the trip to Israel. "The trip solidified his position about Israel's relationship with the United States."

Lyons, who, like many other of Helms's contacts in the Jewish community, is modern Orthodox, was upbeat about Helms's new position

on the Foreign Relations Committee. "I think he will be very positive. He knows at firsthand what an important role Israel plays in the Middle East."

Because of Helms's reputation and his position on many other social issues, most American Jews still feel very uncomfortable working with him. But the consensus among the most important Jewish political activists in Washington is that they should now be practical and deal with Helms on the key issues. As one of them said: "It's better to have Helms with you than against you."

He probably will continue to vote against the foreign aid bill. But at

least now, he has a new explanation. "Now, many Israelis realize that excessive dependence upon U.S. foreign aid has compromised Israel's independence of action, and has resulted in U.S. State Department pressures which could threaten Israel's survival."

His alternative, which he recently spelled out in a lengthy article in the conservative Heritage Foundation's quarterly, *Policy Review*, was for the United States to "face up to the fact that aid to Israel is essentially a defence cost, like our support of NATO and Pacific allies, and put it openly in the defence budget... Only Israel can oppose Soviet hegemony over the entire area."

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THE SON of a policeman who spent his infancy in a *ma'bara* (transit camp); a jurist who broadcasts in Yiddish and would in Arabic too if given the chance; an ex-student of *Yeshiva Torah* whose MK mother could still be termed a *femme terrible* and whose father went to school with the prime minister; these are the men who, in their forties, surround Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. No name, blue blazers for them: Shamir's men, unlike 'Peres's boys' who are generally a decade younger, go in for the tweedy look.

Shamir too, although not sporting a Harris tweed jacket, has also changed his image in the first hundred days or so of his premiership. The secretive, almost clandestine, aura of his first spell at the Prime Minister's Office has gone out the window. Now he is the kindly but active grandfather, projecting solidity and stability. Week after week we see photos of him as pilot, gun-toting soldier and medical man. The public is becoming accustomed to scenes of the new, more open Shamir, chatting relaxedly at home with a group of authors. The strategy of his panel of advisers is paying off handsomely.

Who are the men behind the scenes? Unlike his impetuous rivals, David Levy and Ariel Sharon, Shamir has not packed his immediate entourage with party hacks and yes-men. Resisting pressure from party politicians, Shamir has brought a group of like-minded professionals with him to the Prime Minister's Office from the Foreign Ministry as well as a couple of up-and-coming party figures. The only left-over from the Begin days is the adviser on Diaspora affairs, Harry Hurwitz, a veteran ex-South African Revisionist, who adds the final polish to Shamir's speeches in English.

The core of the Israeli power structure lies around two corridors on the first floor of the Prime Minister's Office. The men who manipulate the levers of government are housed in a fairly modest environment compared to the palatial surroundings of their counterparts in other capital cities. Their working hours reflect those of their boss. The 71-year-old Shamir's schedule provides for a two-hour daily midday break, in the 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. working day. Moreover, none of the

advisers can recall Shamir having taken a vacation in the past five years.

One of the most noticeable changes between the Peres and Shamir regimes — of special interest to the working press — is the more accessible sifting (to newsmen) of the offices of the premier's media-counselor Avi Pazner and spokesman Yossi Ahimeir. They also enjoy more working space than did Peres's media counselor Uri Savir. His old office — directly opposite the boss's door — is occupied by Arye Mekel, assistant to Shamir on political affairs. He works closely with Yosef (usually known as Yossi) Ben-Aharon, the Prime Minister's Office director-general and Shamir's political adviser, as well as being an integral part of the media advisory team. Mekel's input is felt in Ben-Aharon's drafts of Shamir's speeches and less-public documents.

A major difference between the two teams is that Peres's was headed by then cabinet secretary Yossi Beilin, with his director-general Avraham Tamir imposed on him by virtue of the coalition agreement with Yehud. In Shamir's case, Ben-Aharon is chief of general staff, and in his dual role comparable to Simha Dinitz under Golda Meir.

### Mark Segal

Almost instant access to the prime minister is enjoyed by his four senior aides — Ben-Aharon (regarded as closest to him), cabinet secretary Eliyavim Rubinstein, Pazner and the premier's military aide Tat-Aluf Azriel Nevo, who has served first as assistant and then as full liaison officer between the prime minister and the IDF since Yitzhak Rabin's days. Of course Shamir's bureau chief Tzahi Hanegbi, Mekel and Ahimeir enjoy easy access. Not forgetting the trio of young Herut "princes" — Deputy (Acting Interior) Minister Ronnie Milo and lawyer-MKs Dan Meridor and Ehud Olmert.

A RECURRING term one encounters in descriptions of Shamir's approach to his work is compartmentalization. Shamir is super-

# The men behind the new Shamir



The media quartet: (from the left) Avi Pazner, Arye Mekel, Tzahi Hanegbi, Yossi Ahimeir.

(Rabbinic Israel)

careful about personal contacts and initially suspicious of sources of information. His *shetl* background, his years in Lehi and post-independence decades in the Mossad have moulded him into a hyper-cautious person with a predilection for secrecy.

As someone who knows him says — one has to peel off layers and layers to get to Shamir. Not precisely promising material for any media adviser. It says much for the rapport that has developed between Shamir and Pazner that the former has grown to implicitly trust the latter's professional judgment. It's even said that Pazner is one of the few advisers around the boss to enjoy *carte blanche* in his work.

In the six years of their close association since he became director of Shamir's bureau, Ben-Aharon is said to have become the most influential person around him — that is, apart from his wife Shulamit. In 1983 when Shamir replaced Begin, he brought Ben-Aharon with him to the Prime Minister's Office, making him his political adviser — a position he retained in the pre-retirement years at the foreign ministry. Shamir learned to respect his subtlety of mind and sophisticated understanding of the outside world, apart from his human qualities.

Ben-Aharon is one of our few *kippa*-wearing senior diplomats, along with Eliyavim Rubinstein. There are those who will tell you that Shamir uses Ben-Aharon as a lightning rod in the ministry, letting him bear the brunt for unpopular measures. Shamir's party comrades have also resented his picking a non-party man for the job, recalling that Ben-Aharon was political affairs assistant at the Prime Minister's Office under the late Golda Meir and Yitzhak Rabin between 1974 and 1976. However, they need not have worried — his ideological affinity with his boss has become celebrated.

Although born in Jerusalem in 1932, Ben-Aharon was raised in Port Said where his family lived until 1947, returning home to a flat off Rehov Habashim. He still clearly remembers being awakened by the blast from the British terrorist bombing of the nearby *Palestine Post* building. Enrolled in the Hagana at 16, he still shudders at the memory of the bodies he helped carry out from beneath the wreckage of the Rehov Yehuda atrocity.

After completing his IDF service,

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Yosef Ben-Aharon, director-general of the Prime Minister's Office.



Eliyavim Rubinstein, cabinet secretary.

he finished his Hebrew University studies in Arabic and Middle East history. Ben-Aharon joined the foreign service in 1956, serving in Rangoon, Washington and New York. He headed the ministry's Middle Eastern affairs department until Shamir summoned him to his side.

The good-natured working ambience of the director-general's office is exemplified by the poster hanging in his secretary's room. Its text reads: "They've found something that does the work of five men...one woman!" The walls of Ben-Aharon's own room are hung with a fine Mane-Katz painting of a Jewish wedding orchestra, a finely-wrought tapestry by Zvi Kara on the theme of "Jerusalem: The Heavenly" and a remarkably atmospheric photo study of the Western Wall by Arthur Stark.

His administrative talents have flowered in his new post. In the Shamir government, Ben-Aharon is the super-co-ordinator with the other ministries, and stands beside his boss at the pyramid's peak. As he puts it: "I take the responsibility for the functional work, I let the politicians fight out the politics." As an old foreign ministry hand, he knows his Byzantine labyrinths, having already established a good working relationship with his counterpart there, Dr. Yossi Beilin. Currently he is hard at work co-ordinating the details of Shamir's impending visit to Washington with other departments. His other hat of political adviser means he is busy drafting the 20 speeches his boss is slated to deliver during his American visit.

(The White House employs six full-time speech-writers, with parallel figures for 10 Downing Street and the Elysée Palace.)

I LEARNED from Yossi Ahimeir that the premier's day usually begins at about 6 a.m. In the two hours before he reaches the office he manages to peruse the press, carefully listen to the morning radio news-

reel and catch up on paper work. His first hour is taken up by his bureau chief Hanegbi, Ben-Aharon, Rubinstein and a media review from either Pazner or Ahimeir.

Every day at 9 a.m., Ben-Aharon presides over the brains trust of Shamir's advisers, which includes Pazner, Rubinstein, Ahimeir, Hanegbi, Mekel, the 47-year-old economic adviser Amos Rubin, an ex-Bank of Israel whiz kid; and the latest addition — Haim Amar, adviser on social services. The 27-year-old young Herutnik from Jerusalem's Ir Ganim quarter also plans Shamir's weekly tours. This son of North African immigrants has an M.A. in Jewish philosophy from the Hebrew University. It was at this forum that the strategy of fashioning Shamir's new image emerged. The same forum convenes each Sunday at 4 p.m. to be briefed by Rubinstein on cabinet sessions. They share in common a prevalence of daughters. Ben-Aharon has five: Rubinstein — four; Pazner — two daughters and a son; Ahimeir — two daughters; and Mekel — two sons and a daughter.

There are Herut insiders who will tell you that Rubinstein was summoned from his post as No. 2 in the Washington embassy to balance Ben-Aharon's influence. By all accounts, any apprehensions about friction between the two have been laid to rest. Everyone speaks of a harmonious relationship between these two highly intelligent men.

The main impression one retains of the Tel Aviv-born 40-year-old cabinet secretary is his warm personality and his tremendous sense of fun. On his door is stuck a plea in Yiddish *Zot hat rachmones, nijei nit* — roughly translated: "Take pity, don't nag."

The son of East European parents, he acquired his love for Yiddish when studying it with Professor Dov Sadan at the Hebrew University, where he completed his B.A. in 1967, his LL.B. in 1969 and his M.A. in Middle East studies in 1974. He served in the IDF (1966-70), reaching the rank of *rav-seren* (major). Asked why his name in his official biography is Rubinstein-Migdal, he explained matter-of-factly that was his way of commemorating his relatives — the Migdalovitch family — who perished in the Holocaust. His father worked as a tax accountant and his mother was a graduate of the American University of Beirut's nursing school.

It is not widely known that the multi-lingual cabinet secretary regularly reads out his translation of the cabinet's weekly announcements on Israel Radio's Yiddish broadcasts. He offered to do the same in Arabic — which he learned at college — but the radio's Arabic language section has not taken up his offer. The large leather-bound *chumash* on his table among cabinet papers is noticeably well-used, but he would be the last to push his faith down anyone else's throat.

Before going to Washington he taught political science at Bar-Ilan University, from 1969 to 1983, reaching senior lecturer rank. In 1981 he was Visiting Scholar at the Harvard Law School, proceeding to attend the Hague Academy of International Law.

He spent two-and-a-half "fascinating years" with Moshe Dayan between 1977 and 1981, as the late foreign minister's bureau chief and adviser. Personal chemistry evolved between this unlikely pair. Promoted assistant director-general for special duties, he was closely involved in the peace talks with Egypt: "Moshe was pessimistic about the prospects of peace, until the actual signing," he relates.

Reminded that he is one of the only Camp David participants — whether Israeli or American — not to have written his memoirs, Rubinstein chuckled: "I've still got time."

From 1980 to 1985 he became the foreign ministry's legal adviser and assistant director-general. Rubinstein has also established a reputation as an authority on Israel legal history, having authored a number of books on the subject, as well as writing about Jewish-Arab relations.

A signed photo of him with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is a souvenir of his short term in Washington. The dedication reads: "To Ely — with my admiration for the high quality of your work and your mind; and for your strong character and human decency; and many thanks for the warmth of your friendship."

Being cabinet secretary "is not an easy task. The secret is to use one's common sense and provide the same service to everybody. One must pursue a basic fairness in one's approach," Rubinstein remarks.

EVERY WEDNESDAY morning there is a meeting in Pazner's room of the media quartet, which decides on the strategy and tactics of Shamir's exposure. They combine Pazner's 16 years as a foreign ministry media adviser, Ahimeir and Mekel's experience as working newsmen, the former with *Ma'ariv*, the latter with Israel Radio, and Hanegbi's media-oriented political work. Pazner and Ahimeir have proven popular with the working press, local and foreign, both for their professionalism and for not having favourites. They make a good team with Mekel, and Pazner says at every opportunity: "If I've had any success, it's thanks to good teamwork."

The 49-year-old Pazner was born in Danzig, but his parents managed to reach Switzerland in 1939 just before Hitler's tanks moved. He was thanks to his mother's Swiss passport. She belonged to the Erlangen family, among the first Jews to enter Switzerland after the Emancipation of the mid-19th century. His father, Dr. Haim Pazner, Jewish Agency representative in Geneva, was the first to convey details of Hitler's Final Solution to the Allies. He spent the war in one long, desperate bid to rescue Jews, despite official Swiss obstacles. His cosmopolitan upbringing left Pazner a useful fluency in languages for his future career. The family came on aliyah in 1953, with his father joining the foreign service.

After attending the Rehavia Gymnasium and serving in the tank corps, Pazner studied economics and political science at the Hebrew University. In 1965, he joined the foreign ministry, serving in various African countries (befriending the future Emperor Bokassa in the Central African Republic). In 1971 he was seconded to the press office. Three years later he was sent to Washington where he spent seven years as embassy press counsellor. Pazner made a network of friends in Washington during those years which witnessed four administrations — Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan.

"I might say I unwittingly obtained my vocational training as media counsellor to the prime minister in those years by watching the work of four presidential spokesmen. I think the best one was Jody Powell — he was a strong spokesman of a weak president. I never dreamed I'd occupy a parallel position. I've tried to translate what I learned into Israeli terms," he says.

The media counsellor does his best to refrain from over-exposure of his boss, remarking "Shamir has a low threshold of patience for such matters." Nor does he want the premier to become a media commentator, responding to every microphone thrust at him on his tours.

Pazner has achieved an enviable measure of rapport with Shamir, as perhaps symbolized by the big blow-

up photo on the wall showing him whispering into the prime minister's ear. They became acquainted during Shamir's visits to Washington during his first term as foreign minister. He asked him to become his spokesman, which he did (1982-84), moving to the Prime Minister's Office during Shamir's first term there.

ARYE MEKEL, 40, spent his childhood in a transit camp with DP immigrant parents, and was raised in the immigrant neighbourhood of Kiryat Yam. He is proud of being a self-made man. He was the first pupil of a post-48 immigrant family to attend the elite Haifa Reali school. His father was 30 years in the police force, and his mother worked in a supermarket. He did his army service at Gali Zahal, opening his studio in Jerusalem, and serving as its diplomatic correspondent, dealing with Avi Pazner as a foreign ministry spokesman.

In 1971 he began working for Israel Radio before becoming a WZO emissary in Cincinnati. A short interlude back in Jerusalem, then the radio sent him as its correspondent to New York, where he utilized the time to complete his M.A. at Columbia University. He began working on a sociology PhD thesis on "a theoretical model of a PR campaign of a small state seeking a positive image in a superpower. I didn't think of Israel, but rather of Taiwan."

Tzahi Hanegbi, the Prime Minister's chief of bureau, holds the key to Shamir's agenda, appointments and correspondence and therefore wields much influence. In his mid-30s, he has settled down since his turbulent student days, when he and Yisrael Katz (today Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon's assistant) terrorized their left-wing opponents on the Hebrew University campus. Some put this down to the influence of his American wife, others to the sobering proximity of the centre of power. After some years as leader of Tebiya youth, he left his mother MK Gola Cohen in the smaller party and rejoined Herut. Today he is a prime liaison between the party and Shamir, and is considered an up-and-coming man.

It is not widely known that his late father, Emmanuel Hanegbi (Strassberger) attended school with Yitzhak Shamir (Yezershtinsky) in Bialystok, and after coming on aliyah joined the Lehi under Shamir's command using the underground name of "Adam."

The father of Yossi Ahimeir, the fourth member of the media quartet, also knew Shamir very well. A controversial Revisionist, ideologue, Abba Ahimeir brought his son up in Ramat Gan. After his marriage, Yossi Ahimeir made his home on the upper floor of the family's two-storey house. He has devoted his life to bringing out his father's writings. Ahimeir studied geology at the Hebrew University ("I inherited my love of natural sciences from father"), and then transferred to Tel Aviv University where he studied Middle East affairs and political science.

Dedicated to his father's ideas, he joined Herut early on, and was elected for some years to its central committee. Like his father he became a journalist — his first job was on the defunct *Gahal Hayom* daily, then in 1969 he joined *Ma'ariv's* editorial staff. In 1984 he took unpaid leave to work with Shamir, to believe in Yitzhak Shamir, I totally identify with his ideology. But I'm a journalist, not a politician," he says with fervour.

AS I HEARD it, Shamir is looking to the "princes" like Uzi Landau, Benjamin Netanyahu, Milo, Meridor and Olmert as the future leadership of his party, rather than the current pretenders. I gather that the latter duo have become even closer confidants since their legal counsel helped him weather the Shin Bet affair. I'm told they're frequent guests at his home where Shamir unburdens himself over a nightcap (Black and White scotch).

Shamir's future plans include calling his party convention in March after his return from Washington. Sources tell me he will then tie down his nomination as the Likud candidate for the premiership in the 1988 elections. As Ahimeir says: "He's a very healthy and fit man. He has plans for years ahead of an active life. He reminds me of an oak tree, strongly rooted in the soil of Eretz Yisrael."

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## Beware the vultures

David Horowitz

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV has got five years, maybe six, to get the Soviet economy kicking. After that the vultures will begin to circle, the old guard will soon be quickly back into place, and the middle-level Soviet bureaucrats will have a collective sigh of relief.

That's the view of Soviet experts in British academic and diplomatic circles, where Gorbachev's much-publicized new policy of *glasnost* (openness) is being greeted with considerable interest and more than a dash of scepticism.

Dr. Antony Polonsky, of the London School of Economics, is one Soviet watcher at pains to stress that, for all the talk of reform, Gorbachev is making no attempt to change the Soviet system of government.

"He is working within the same system, without the slightest intention of leaning towards Western-style pluralism. He is simply trying to correct the shift in the Brezhnev era that took power from the central party apparatus to the middle, local echelons," Polonsky said in an interview this week.

"The set-up he inherited involved a great many middle-level officials interested in nothing other than maintaining the status quo. In order for Gorbachev to achieve his prime aim - reforming the economy - he has got to break that status quo."

Soviet experts in Whitehall share that opinion, and believe that Gorbachev is finding the bloated party machinery a tough nut to crack.

"It is clearly going to take him far longer than he had expected to improve agricultural and industrial performance, to lift the standard of living," one Whitehall expert said.

Even though Gorbachev stunned party officials by proposing that they be elected "democratically," his speech last week to the Soviet Central Committee was not as sweeping as the Moscow gossipers had predicted.

"He's still facing internal obstacles and criticism, he hasn't got rid of all the old guard, and he hasn't been able to win promotion for all his supporters."

HOWEVER DIFFICULT Gorbachev is finding it to win widespread domestic support for his policies, he is clearly sending energetic signals to the West that a new era is dawning.

Foreign Office Minister Timothy Renton, on an official visit to Moscow last month, was told specifically that new Soviet emigration laws would increase "by several magnitudes" the number of Soviet Jews allowed to leave.

The British Foreign Office, indeed, expected those new laws to be announced last week, but Polonsky, for one, is not holding his breath.

"Despite the work of Western pressure groups, Soviet Jewry is plainly not a touchstone of U.S.-Soviet relations," he said. "Of course you never can tell, but I'm doubtful about the prospect of large-scale Jewish emigration. Certainly, though, we can expect some liberalization of Jewish cultural life in the Soviet Union."

The Whitehall mood is more upbeat, and it is pointed out that Gorbachev wants very much to improve the Soviet image in the West.

"He knows that, if he's looking to reach agreements with the U.S., he has to produce evidence that his Soviet Union is a more respectable, feeling society," said the Whitehall expert. "That means progress on human rights, Jewish emigration... I think we can expect changes in policy."

The feeling in Whitehall is that Gorbachev desperately wants to divert resources away from the military, and into the economy. "For this reason, he is genuinely keen to reach arms-control agreements and the likelihood of such pacts is growing all the time," according to the Whitehall expert.

"When Prime Minister Thatcher visits Moscow late next month, she'll be putting a very realistic package of arms-control proposals to him, proposals worked out together with President Reagan."

"In the present climate, a 50 per cent reduction in strategic arsenals, a deal on intermediate-range nuclear missiles, a ban on chemical weapons, all these should be within reach," the expert believed. He stressed, however, that Gorbachev's proposals at Reykjavik for a "nuclear-free world" are only an illusion.

"He's pumping the idea for all it's worth, because it's wonderful propaganda. But Gorbachev won't throw all his nuclear weapons away. He knows, above all, that the Soviet Union is only a superpower by virtue of its nuclear capability. Without the missiles, it would be nothing but a monstrous, inefficient, and thoroughly third-class nation."

Only one bottle of vodka a day... an inquisitive press... democratically elected officials... are Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms a move towards liberalization or just a fine-tuning of the old system? *Post* writers in Jerusalem, London and Paris report on the man and his measures.

## All change in Moscow?



## Glum future in store

Alexander Zvielli

THE FUTURE of mankind and the increasing threat to our existence have been widely discussed in the Western press recently. It is interesting to note what a prominent Soviet scientist and philosopher, Yuri Riurikow, has written on this crucial subject.

In an article published in the ninth issue of the prestigious Soviet journal *Problems of Philosophy*, Riurikow warns us that while recent social and technical advances may allow mankind to fulfil some of its most ambitious ideals, they are also leading us to total destruction, not necessarily by war or nuclear upheaval.

Three swords of Damocles hang over our heads today: the possibility of a sudden outbreak of nuclear war; the increasing ecological danger and, least understood, but nonetheless fatal, a psychological development which changes human beings into egocentric and egoistic animals. Such developments, the author claims, have deeply affected the capitalist world, but he admits that they are also widespread in the "socialist hemisphere."

Riurikow claims that we waste 97 to 99 per cent of our scarce natural resources. During the past 25 years we have extracted more natural treasures from the earth than during mankind's entire history prior to this period. We are simultaneously and pitilessly poisoning our three greatest natural treasures - air, earth and water.

We plan to triple our industrial capacity by the end of this century, meaning that we shall deprive ourselves annually of 300 million tons of raw materials which will eventually become dangerous waste. Riurikow cites statistics from the International Organization for the Protection of Nature, which claims that tropical forests, the world's lungs, are being destroyed at a speed of 20 hectares per minute. Over 40 per cent have already been irreparably destroyed.

We waste and poison water, using 3,500 billion cubic metres of water annually and poisoning even more. Every year we bury 500 million tons of poisonous chemicals. Many eventually release poisonous particles into the water and atmosphere.

RIURIKOW APPEALS for a new approach to industrial and chemical production and to nature. Preoccupied with the problem of waste, which he considers to be the main danger to our existence, he claims that we must find ways to avoid creating waste, and that recycling is not the only answer. We must revise our concept of industrialization and introduce a concept of wasteless production or we shall poison ourselves. This, according to Riurikow, is a matter of life and death for mankind.

Riurikow believes that the time has come for mankind to rethink its role on this planet. Naturally, he believes that communism and the Soviet Union play a leading role in the introduction of international cooperation and new ideas for mankind. He considers the Soviet system capable of tackling the problem and

leading others.

We know, however, that ecological problems within the vast expanses of the Soviet Union are no less severe than in the West. There are persistent rumours that the hitherto crystal-clear waters of Lake Baikal and the Caspian Sea are already polluted. Riurikow's article indicates that Soviet scientists are growing increasingly aware of the dreadful dangers we face. It is important that they share the need for a common effort to avert future disasters and the dangers facing mankind.

It is a pity that Riurikow does not explore deeper the nature of the third danger which threatens mankind, the dehumanization of the human race. The question is which system - capitalism or Soviet-style socialism - turns us into egocentric animals and how idealism can be preserved.

## A grandmaster with problems

Menachem Shalev

"ANYONE WHO wants Gorbachev to succeed must be concerned that he has gone too far concerning the matter of the vodka," says Dr. Zev Katz of Hebrew University. "It's such a daring step for Russia. It cannot even be compared with prohibition in America in the 1920s."

Katz, a lecturer on Russia and a fellow of the university's Soviet Research Centre, certainly sounds like one of Gorbachev's well-wishers. "If Reagan is a grand communicator, then Gorbachev is a grandmaster. He is a first-rate manager with an open mind, a flexible way of thinking and an uncanny ability to get things done," he says.

"But he's been plagued by bad luck. There was the failed summit at Reykjavik, the disaster at Chernobyl, the harsh winter which is now destroying a large part of Russia's winter crops. And there is the matter of the vodka."

Excluding the Moslems, who comprise 20 per cent of the total population, and the Baltic peoples, two-thirds of the Soviet population can be considered the "average Russian," for whom, says Katz, vodka is crucial, an integral part of the Russian way of life.

"It's very hard to get any vodka now, and that which can be had is very expensive. The Russians queue up in long lines for two to three hours, even in ice-cold weather, in front of the liquor stores which open for only a few hours a day. And even then, it's one bottle per customer."

An industry of locally-produced alcohol, based on time-tested methods has cropped up in villages and small towns. Alternative sources like sugar beet, grain and barley are in great demand. The Russians are drinking vodka-substitutes, many unfit for human consumption, creating "a danger of a drastic deterioration in the level of public health," according to Katz.

Another aspect of Gorbachev's reforms which might not appeal to the "average Russian" is the effort to increase discipline in places of work. "The Russians don't like to work too hard," says Katz. "They are not like the Americans, full of ambition to succeed, to work hard, to get ahead. Actually, if there are two years to prepare a congress, most of the work will get done in a scramble in the last two days. Now the Russians are under pressure to fulfil the quotas, to get things done to schedule."

One of the paradoxes of the Brezhnev era, says Katz, is that it brought to the Soviet Union the first period of relative stability this century. People were assured of their jobs and spared the uncertainties of the previously constant upheavals and revolutions. But, says Katz, this same stability turned into a catastrophe - nobody and nothing moved, elderly and unfit people remained at their jobs and degeneration set in. Soviet television gave the impression of a "stagnating Byzantine courtyard," he says.

"A new generation of young leaders is taking over," says Dr. Katz, "and they are telling their subordinates: either you produce results or you're sacked." As a result there has been an increase in productivity and discipline, says Katz, "things which a Soviet person might not appreciate."

THROUGHOUT the interview, Katz keeps an eye on the Moscow 1 broadcast on his satellite-linked television. "People in the West do not know much about the media and cultural revolution which has taken place," he says. "You see things on television which you wouldn't have dreamed of seeing several years ago."

An interview with the two Syrian cosmonauts who will soon join their Russian counterparts in space is followed by a lavish, 1950s American-style entertainment programme replete with blue-splashed dancers. "Look," says Katz, "they are even showing a little leg."

In a skit, an announcer tells her colleagues about an exhibition but refuses to recommend a specific exhibit, saying that every Russian should choose for himself. "Previously, some political censor would tell the station 'the party is the one who knows what's good for the Russians'."

Katz points out the easygoing, Western style of the show. Earlier in the evening, a candid depiction of crime in Russia was shown and an exposé of the failings and shortcomings of the all-important rail system.

The Russian journalist has become more like his Western, or Israeli, colleague - fearless, probing, inquisitive," says Katz. "Commentaries have become rational, sensible. You don't hear the words 'imperialist warmongers' any more."

The ever-expanding intelligentsia in Russia is obviously pleased with these developments, says Katz. Forty-six million Russians are now engaged in non-manual work, over 75 per cent of those under 30 are high school graduates. "Suddenly they have cinema and literature which were forbidden for years," he says.

BUT NONE of Gorbachev's massive reforms have yet to take hold. He succeeded as general secretary of the Saratov region by dismantling the huge *kolkhozes* into smaller work branches, which immediately showed a dramatic improvement in production.

"But there are many problems in implementing these reforms," says Katz. "These smaller work groups started producing four or five times more and a worker started earning 500 rubles a month instead of 60-70. They became rich and powerful and ceased to adhere to the *kolkhoz* manager or the party chairman. There is a lot of tension, envy, unrest and instability," says Katz.

"Russia could solve its entire food problem with half the manpower now employed in its production," says Katz, "but the regime is wary."

Despite these and many other obstacles, Katz believes that Gorbachev shows great promise. He is capable of becoming an "inverted Stalin" from the point of view of the changes that he can bring to Russia.

"He is very charismatic and has a great talent to move things along, step by step. He is like a talented marathon runner - you just have to see him running 100 yards to know that he is a champion."

If he succeeds, says Katz, Russia will still be communist and still vie with the United States. But, says Katz, it will not be the same Russia.

## Clash of opinions

Michel Zlotowski

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S well-publicized decisions concerning a new electoral system have triggered mixed reactions in Paris. To Alexandre Adler, a writer and journalist close to Francois Mitterrand's aides, Gorbachev crossed a point of no return by launching a war against the *apparatus*. "By putting forward the voting system the way he did," said Adler, "Gorbachev questioned the legitimacy of all the traditional political forces in the Soviet Union."

His call for a national conference that will meet in about a year means that the USSR's political life will be immobilized during the next 12 months. It also calls into question the results of last year's congress. In addition, Adler told *The Post* Gor-

bachev's sharp criticism of the past should be noted. "I expect some important moves on the cultural level," he said. "But I do think that we are witnessing a turning point in the history of the USSR."

Adler said that some French officials "are flabbergasted by Gorbachev's decisions. For years, they looked at the Soviet Union through rose-coloured glasses, then through dark spectacles, concluding that there could not be any reform of the Russian system. The French haven't yet understood what has happened."

Circles close to the foreign affairs minister hold a totally different opinion. "From the very beginning, we were very cautious," one such source said. "We had no illusions about the importance of Gorbachev's call for a multiplicity of candidates within the party. We understood that it was a way for the Russian leader to have party officials moved around, more than a sudden desire for democracy."

"Gorbachev is not a democrat. He is just trying to better the system from within. He obviously believes that he can succeed in overcoming party officials' apathy, and hopes to replace his opponents with people more favourable to him."

"However it is not evident that the party will follow him. The Russian bureaucracy is very strong, and may be able to resist him. We think that he acts much more skillfully than Khrushchev: he takes his time, he does not tackle all the issues at the same time. He may succeed, but a great deal remains uncertain."

"France is much more sober than many countries about so called openings in Moscow, more than the U.S. and Germany, for example," he concluded.

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# Crisis? what crisis?

LABOUR SECRETARY-General Uzi Baran once remarked: "It is impossible to goad this man into a confrontation." The subject of Baran's exasperated complaint was Yitzhak Shamir.

The prime minister can be a very cog customer indeed, as events of the past fortnight amply testify. Shamir remained an island of calm as another coalition tempest raged about him. He was probably the only one to check his temper as the Likud and Labour were again in the grips of a periodic "crisis," replete with "slinging," passionate invective and the brinkmanship maneuvers to which the unwilling partners in the national unity government have become accustomed.

As in all previous crises, we were again warned that "this is the moment of truth for the government." Several points of contention seemed to have come to the fore simultaneously. Yet the charge that a deliberate, pre-meditated conspiracy was at hand cannot be reasonably substantiated.

While Foreign Minister Shimon Peres was abroad talking (again) about an international conference on the Middle East, financier David Balas charged (again) from his place of custody that he was a tool of Labour's violations of campaign financing laws; and in the background, Labour and the Likud were logging it out (again) over financial aid to the United Kibbutz Movement (a follow-up battle to the one over aid to the Histadrut's Kupat Holim and Solal Boneh).

THE TRIPLE combination has proved non-lethal. The government will shakily survive and the acrimony will be held up as symptomatic of this loveless coalition.

For one thing, both major parties have internal preoccupations. Herut is still agonizing over attempts to bring last March's aborted party convention to a proper conclusion; and if its efforts, so far, are any indication, the likelihood is that last year's rowdy conflicts will be replayed.

In Labour, on a much smaller scale, the Rabin-Peres feud showed new signs of life, judging from the way Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin lashed out at Peres's protégé, Foreign Ministry director-general for political affairs, Yossi Beilin, over the South Africa issue. Rabin clearly still holds Beilin responsible for the anti-Rabin letters which appeared in the press several years back, when the feud in Labour was red-hot.

But the main reason this will go down as one more venting-of-steam episode, is that, despite the cumulative force of several confrontations occurring at once, none of them, in itself, provides what could be pre-

The great survivor of this generation is the national unity government. Despite three fateful disputes, *The Jerusalem Post's* Political Correspondent Sarah Honig argues that its glue—the interests of the two large parties—will continue to hold it together.

sented to the general public as an acceptable pretext for early elections.

The Likud is bound to prolong the government's existence—the only way they can collect on their risky political investment in letting Labour have first turn under the rotation deal. Labour assertions to the contrary, Shamir's adversaries in the yet-to-be-resolved internecine Herut battle, are not conspiring to bring the government down. Anyone whom the Herut rank-and-file judge guilty of undermining a Likud government, can kiss his future career in that party good-bye.

Many in Labour make no bones about their interest in an early election date. They note that Labour had already accrued all possible benefits from the national unity coalition when Peres's tenure as premier ended. The further back his premiership recedes in the public memory and the more time that elapses between his premiership and the next polling day, the less favourable are Labour's prospects, say many in that party.

But Labour cannot go to the electorate without a very convincing case for breaking up the national unity government, which, for all its flaws, the man-on-the-street continues to favour.

FARCICAL as the Herut Youth activists may have been in relation to the country's most famous watch (the one Balas gave Peres) and unpalatable as Shamir found the entire episode, the Balas issue is the very last one on which Labour would wish to wage the next election. Balas's assertions that he "purchased" Ezer Weizman's Yahad list on behalf of Labour and that he laundered illegal kibbutz contributions to the Labour campaign have yet to be investigated.

In fact, it would be safe to say that the higher-ups in both parties are far from eager to open the Pandora's box of party financing.

Shamir is reported to have already called zealous backbencher Michael Eitan to order for his harping on the Balas case. As for Herut Youth's

complaints to the police, Shamir has gone on record as recommending that "before opening one's mouth, it would be better to swallow disinfectant pills."

Labour attributes Shamir's open and unequivocal displeasure with the boys to Herut's own fears of too much digging into the Tel Hai Fund or into the West Bank land deals scandal. However, sources close to Shamir note that the latter case is already being tried and the former "is too old to stir up much excitement."

The danger that 1977 Likud campaign manager Ezer Weizman, now firmly in Labour, would reveal any dirt is also discounted by the sources. They say that "if Weizman had any damaging evidence, odds are that he would already have made it public knowledge. If he is keeping something in the dark, the public may well want to know why."

As the sources have it, what is responsible for Shamir's nervousness is the position of the Likud itself, constantly fearful that it will not manage to complete its term under rotation. Anybody making waves bothers Shamir. He needs to stay away from controversy as much as possible, say those close to him. The din the headline-seeking Herut boys are making, is clearly the last thing he wants.

Moreover, even Michael Eitan admitted to *The Jerusalem Post* that the watch fiasco "just served to divert attention from some of Balas's more serious charges, and so actually served Labour's interests." On the Labour side, a senior minister told *The Post* this week: "It is amazing how seasoned politicians could make such gross errors in over-reacting to immature Herut Youth pranks. If we ignored them, no one would have paid them any attention. Labour walked into the trap by drawing attention to the very publicity it should have avoided. Everyone, including Peres, ought to be able to control his nerves."

The minister noted that it wasn't the Likud, but Balas's line of defence, which brought forth the charges that Balas funnelled



David Balas (Tppo)

\$600,000 of UKM funds to Labour as a personal contribution. (The law forbids the UKM to make such donations, but Balas as a private individual may.) Balas also says that he paid \$1.8m. to cover Yahad's campaign debts, thereby "buying" its loyalty to Labour in the 1984 coalition talks.

It would have been unnatural for the Likud not to capitalize on this. It should have been all too clear to those concerned that Balas's accusations would result in a political stir. Would we have acted any better had the roles been reversed and Shamir received a watch from Balas? This (the resulting furor) was to be expected and is no reason to bring the government down," the senior Labour minister argued.

SOME IN LABOUR consider the international conference issue more serious. The Labour minister to whom *The Post* spoke, pointed out that "the existence of sharp differences of opinion between the parties, is no news to either side." Both knew whom they were forming a coalition partnership with and both realize that they cannot force their point of view on the other side.

Last week, when the Tehiya's Gula Cohen put down a Knesset question to the prime minister on the subject, Shamir sent her son, his bureau chief Tzahi Hanegbi, to her to plead with his mother to withdraw the question. But when Mom insisted she knew best, Shamir replied in the House with circumspection. He drily stated that there was no cabinet decision. He refrained from engaging in polemics, which he could have done had he wished to undermine Peres.

According to the senior Labour minister, here too, the war-cries from Labour and the threats of bringing down the government were mere over-reaction.

Sources close to Shamir argue that Peres's basic problem on this issue is that, so far, Hussein has not played along. The debate about the conference has become purely academic, they contend. Hussein's vituperative anti-Israel address at the recent Isla-

mic conference did not help Labour's case. Had Hussein been forthcoming, say sources close to Shamir, Peres could have sought a clear cabinet decision now. Then, if he did not get his wish, he would have had a good issue with which to go to the electorate.

THIS IS WHERE we come to the final, perhaps the only real, *cassez belli*—the financial aid package for the beleaguered kibbutzim.

This touches on sensitive sores that have been festering for decades. Likud's reluctance to bail out the kibbutz movement is seen in Labour as an extension of the anti-socialism of old, dating back to Jabotinsky's famous call to break the Histadrut's all-encompassing power. As Likud sees it, Labour is once more bleeding the taxpayer to finance its own power bases, helping restore fortunes that were squandered by the kibbutzim in the financial casinos.

The kibbutznik deputy minister of agriculture, Avraham Katz-Oz, spoke of "a deliberate Likud campaign to vilify the kibbutz movement." He spoke of "not allowing the Likud to drag us like carrion through the market." He demanded a clear-cut ultimatum to the Likud on this issue. If the NIS 266m. aid package to the kibbutzim were not immediately approved, Labour should not vote for the state budget, he said. That would be tantamount to a no-confidence vote which would have brought the government down. (This far, Labour's leaders were not willing to go.)

Likud Knesset faction chairman Haim Kaufman retorted: "If it's OK to help the kibbutzim, it is equally OK to allocate a small fraction of the sum to Judea and Samaria settlements. But Labour insists its every demand be met, while our demands are seized upon as grounds for bringing down the government. If Labour wants to help the kibbutzim, let it return to them the funds which the UKM illegally contributed through Balas. That would be better than returning Balas's watch."

But however much the politically committed on both sides rage, this is not an electoral issue either. Labour strategists might prefer this to the Balas case, but the kibbutz-aid issue can only win votes in the kibbutzim, and these are safely tucked in Labour's pocket anyway.

Likud has no choice but to step back from the brink. As a top Liberal figure wryly remarked to *The Post*: "As long as Labour needs money for its affiliated concerns, it will stay in the coalition, and we in the Likud will pay through the nose to keep this government going. We have paid so much already, that if we don't keep paying, our entire investment in the national unity government will go down the drain."

Everyone is getting hysterical; but shout and kick and haggle though we may, the Likud knows it will pay in the end. Labour knows it too, so there is no danger to the government on this score.

## Nobody loves Mr. Dulzin

Telereview/Philip Gillon



DURING THE course of the years that I have been writing this column, I have received many abusive comments from readers, who, for some weird and inexplicable reasons, do not share my political and other opinions. As against these ill-informed attitudes, I have been fortified by the support of wiser people who agree with me.

But now the whole world has turned against me. I have united the left, right and centre of the political spectrum, the ultra-Orthodox, the ordinary Orthodox and the secular, in common condemnation of their interpretation of last week's *Telereview* about *Entrance Free*.

Actually, they misunderstood me: they claim that I wrote favourably about Arye Dulzin in particular and the Jewish Agency in general. I did no such thing: all I did was to criticize Menashe Raz's methods of manhandling Dulzin.

But I must have gone wrong somewhere if so many people are convinced that I wrote in support of the chairman of the Agency. The only positive comment I got—I am not sure if it was a compliment—was from somebody who said that I had certainly earned the free trip to Brazil that had obviously been promised by Dulzin.

I hasten to add that neither Dulzin nor anybody else has wasted good public money on offering me such a trip, or any other inducement. There is something about me that rebuffs bribery. At one stage I was town clerk of the Ashkelon local council: knowing how much corruption there is in municipalities, I went around hopefully with my hand outstretched. Everybody shook it.

So now I am rushing to join the queue in condemnation of Dulzin. Poor Arye reminds me of a Jewish story about a man who went to a strange town to visit his friend Abe, who had been elected mayor. When he asked a passerby where Abe lived, the man answered, "That scoundrel! That crook! Go down this street and then ask somebody else." The second passerby from whom the visitor sought directions referred to Abe as a robber of widows and orphans. A third described the mayor as a man who knocked blind beggars down for their pennies.

When the visitor eventually got to Abe, he could not refrain from mentioning the widespread detestation of the mayor expressed by his constituents.

"I know," said Abe sadly, "Isn't it awful?"

"So why don't you resign?"

"What? Think of the honour of being mayor!"

In one of P.G. Wodehouse's golf stories, a victim of fate tells the Oldest Member forlornly, "Nobody loves me! Everybody hates me! I might as well kill myself!"

Just then his little dog comes up and licks his hand. "At least," says the Oldest Member, deeply touched, "your little dog loves you."

"Yes," says the pessimist, "but I don't love the dog," and he kicks it into the fireplace.

I wonder if Dulzin has a dog? And a fireplace?

SO I HAVE decided to eschew controversial themes, and to concentrate on the weather, although I remember that Mrs. Higgins, the mother of Professor Henry Higgins of *Pygmalion*, warns him that the weather is a very dangerous subject indeed for Eliza to talk about. But I'll chance it.

If Israel Television were to do one of those strange surveys they undertake from time to time to ascertain viewer preferences, I am certain they would find that the weather forecast would top the poll.

Every night we wait with bated breath for Dalia Mazar or some other lovely creature to tell us our fate for the morrow. Will we have a chance to get in some tennis? Should we try to fix the umbrella that the wind blew inside out the last time she

brought us rain? Should we go for 14 x's on the Sportoto coupon?

We do not even need to wait for her to announce rain: one look at the background pictures tells us her plans for our destiny.

There are two consolations when she insists on ruining our weekends by bringing thunderstorms. The first, of course, is that rain is good for the water-table. The second is that we see the Friday afternoon and evening programmes.

EDUCATIONAL TV is bringing us a re-run of *The Pallisers*, and very educational I find it to be. Susan Hampshire is wonderful as Lady Glencora, and so is Philip Latham as Plantagenet, her long-suffering and upright husband. This is English TV at its best, capturing nostalgically the days when the great Queen Victoria was on the throne, and England was run by lords, ladies, dowagers and dashing boudiers whom the ladies loved, not wisely but too well.

Later on Friday, after a siesta, we can see *Love Boat*, a soothing tranquillizer to make us forget the woes of the week that was. This week's episode was particularly good, with the captain in fine form as a bald-headed old coot imitating Yul Brynner as the King of Siam.

In the evening, we have an Egyptian film. It is generally about people with money, who have hopes, sad love affairs. One that I saw was about this poor man whose wife was thrown off a lighthouse, and so he tried to make some other woman who loved him look exactly like his wife—a sort of *Rebecca* in reverse. Only the second woman had witnessed the murder, so she too had to go off the lighthouse. Sad, poignant, delightful stuff about love to usher in a wet Friday night.

Sometimes I wonder why Israelis cannot make unpretentious films like these. Or thrillers. Why does every Israeli programme have to be Great, to have social content and a message? Why can't we make series that will take our minds off the state of the nation, the latest Affair, the day-to-day problems of our lives? We need Hebrew versions of *Dynasty*—no, no, *Dallas*—*Love Boat*, and the thrillers.

I hasten to add that I am not pleading for lowbrow opiate-for-the-masses B films only, but for one or two of them in addition to our high-brow fare.

I HAVE a terrible confession to make. I find that I am watching *Dynasty*, and not just to write sneering comments about it, but because I have become interested in what is going to happen next to these awful, incredible people. My taste must be getting debased. For instance, I thought John Forsythe really acted like an actor should between the time Blake was blinded and the time he told Crystal he could see again.

*Dynasty* makes great use of hackneyed theatrical devices that should be outlawed—for instance, eavesdropping. Mind you, sometimes the eavesdropping works out well. This week, Blake heard Crystal tell that villain Nick that she was rejecting his vile advances because she loved her hubby so truly.

Another device that should be outlawed is a road accident. I know statistics prove that 150 per cent of any given western population will be involved in a serious road accident every two years. (The extra 50 per cent is for those who will have two accidents.) But these accidents always seem to be contrived to get the writers out of a mess. And *Dynasty* has had two of them within a short time. Still, I was pleased to see Alexis and Fallon cop it. An accident couldn't have occurred to two more deserving people.

*Paper Chase* really reached new heights this week, with the students staging their annual show. The skits of songs from Gilbert and Sullivan were worthy of those two great masters themselves. And Bell's take-off of Kingsfield putting God in his place was terrific.

## International conference: risks and benefits

PRIME MINISTER Yitzhak Shamir is acting reasonably when expressing dissatisfaction with Soviet reported intention to let 10,000-12,000 Jews leave for Israel. Neither in return for Soviet participation in an international Middle Eastern peace conference nor for a meaningful improvement in the relationship between the two countries, which may help the Soviets in the U.S. are the numbers mentioned big enough. There is evidence that Gorbachev values improved Soviet-American relations much more, and hence demanding higher emigration quotas has some prospects of success.

If that is what the prime minister has in mind when reiterating his opposition to an international peace conference, he is correct. Tactically, Israel should not accept the idea of an international peace conference for such a low price. But if the premier opposes Soviet participation in the peace process on strategic grounds, his attitude is questionable.

An international peace conference was never considered Israel's best choice. Other kinds of negotiations are more suited to Israel, regardless of one's ideological preference for the future of Judea and Samaria.

Since the very first decision by the cabinet a week after the end of the Six Day War, the venue for talks has

not been, from an Israeli point of view, just a matter of procedure but also of substance; and since direct negotiations became a symbol of Israel's quest for recognition and legitimacy, it has also become a matter of prestige to insist on direct negotiations as the only means of making peace with our Arab neighbours.

Despite the fact that this still makes good sense, there are other elements which should be taken into consideration in Jerusalem. Other factors that also need to be considered include Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, the prospects of achieving peace and maintaining it, and the influence all this may have on Israel's position in world politics.

THE FIRST question that needs to be asked in this context is: How might an international peace conference influence the prospects for peace? According to Shamir, if such a conference took place, something that he doubts, it would not serve the cause of peace mainly because it would lead to pressure being brought on Israel by all the other participants, none of which sees eye to eye with this country on its future borders. No way is seen of avoiding either the conference's failure or Israel's surrendering its vital interests and endangering its own security. Either way, such a confer-

ence is seen as not enhancing the chance of real peace but rather increasing the danger of another war.

This is a serious consideration. If the very convening of an international conference necessarily meant a failure of the peace process, Israel should totally and unconditionally reject the idea of the conference.

But it isn't necessarily so. That gloomy scenario is not predestined if we do something to change it.

Israel is not the only party to such a conference whose commitment to achieve peace is genuine. At least as long as it cannot change its American orientation, Egypt is committed to its peace treaty with Israel. On the eve of the Islamic summit in Kuwait, President Hosni Mubarak reiterated his country's continuing commitment to the Camp David accords, basing it on a realistic approach. He told an interviewer for the *Arab Times* of Kuwait that he had asked one of the accords' opponents if he would cancel the accords if he had the power. "He said that trying was one thing but succeeding was another," Mubarak told the interviewer. "This is a fact that cannot be denied."

The reason the Egyptian leader gave for his position is interesting. "Is there any Egyptian who would accept bargaining over Sinai a second time? Of course," he added, "nobody would accept it." A similar approach is suggested by Mubarak to his Arab colleagues. "I

would like to ask our brothers who wish to see Camp David cancelled to clarify why they are calling for this. Is it because of its name? Does it seem reasonable to abolish Camp David and fight to restore it?"

Mubarak reiterated the commitment he had given to Menachem Begin on the eve of the completion of Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai peninsula, namely that Egypt would continue to see the Camp David framework as the only way to establish a comprehensive peace and solve the Palestinian problem. Understanding the meaning of the linkage between the two, President Mubarak argued that it makes no sense to abolish the agreement now and fight to regain its benefits later. This is realism.

ON THE OTHER hand, one should not jump to the wrong conclusion that whatever happens on the eastern sector, peace with Egypt will prevail. A fundamentalist reaction is quite possible in Egypt. This might lead to an abolition of the peace treaty on Islamic grounds. That is the real danger facing our relationship with the first and only Arab country with whom we have established peace. And there is no better way of encouraging the sane elements in Egyptian society than by helping them prove the worth of the peace process. By doing nothing, we only help the enemies common to us and to the Mubarak regime.

How can the peace process be promoted? Of course, the best way is through direct negotiations, as Israel has always wanted, if only it were feasible. But lacking neighbours

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Time Out







# Austrian anti-Nazi

Ernie Meyer

A LECTURE on the history of Hag-gada illustration delivered in fluent Hebrew by a non-Jewish professor from a foreign university is certainly a rarity in Israel. But that is exactly what was heard recently at the Hebrew University's Truman Peace Institute.

The lecturer was Prof. Kurt Schubert, head of the Institute of Judaic Studies at the University of Vienna, who was here on a visit with five members of his staff. Their topics ranged from the Jewish-Christian encounter in art (Dr. Ursula Schubert), to the evidence for a Jewish revolt against Gallus Caesar in 352 CE (Prof. C. Stemberger).

The lectures were well attended at the Haifa, Tel Aviv and Bar-Ilan universities, but due to what seemed poor advance publicity by the Hebrew University, the guests faced an almost empty hall on Mt. Scopus.

Undeterred, Professor Schubert went ahead with his illustrated lecture, but some of his colleagues were discouraged and cancelled theirs. This left Schubert more time to tell *The Jerusalem Post* about his institute and his personal history.

BORN IN Vienna in 1923, he was still at school when Austria's Anschluss with Germany took place

in March 1938. His father was a liberal who taught Kurt to look on the Nazis as criminals.

"When I saw elderly Jews forced to scrub the pavement, surrounded by jeering crowds," he said, "I decided that I would have to do something."

He was active in the anti-Nazi Catholic youth organization and in 1941, having entered the theological faculty of Vienna University, started to study Hebrew. As a young man, he was drafted into the Wehrmacht and, continuing his studies, he joined the civil air defence instead.

In 1943 this service enabled Schubert to strike a blow for what remained of Vienna's Jewish community. His district encompassed the city's Rabbinic Seminary. Reporting that the 20,000 volumes in its library constituted a fire hazard, he was instructed to destroy them. Instead, with the help of like-minded students, he took the invaluable books and, using hand-carts, stored them in various safe places.

"These books later helped me get beyond the study of *Tanach*, and using the Goldschmidt translation I advanced to the study of the Mishna and the Talmud," he said.

Right after the end of the war the books were returned to the re-emerging Jewish community. Many were distributed to displaced persons' camps around Vienna, where they filled a vital need.

"We Catholics played a big role in

the resistance movement," Schubert said, but he declared that "there was more good will than actual opportunity to do anything."

TWO WEEKS before the Russians marched into Vienna on April 10, 1945, Schubert, in hiding from the Gestapo, was granted his PhD degree for a thesis he had written on Hammurabi. A junior lecturer in biblical Hebrew and Aramaic at 22, he was among the first to help reopen the university after the war.

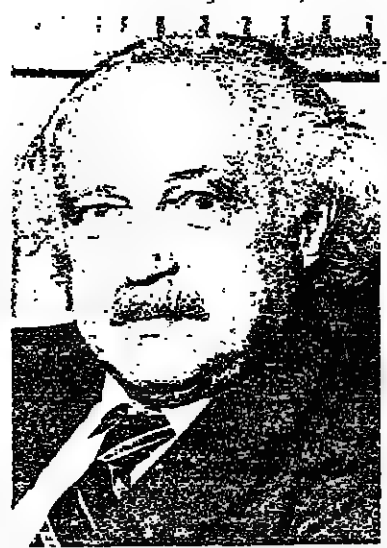
It was at this time that he married Ursula Just, whose mother was Jewish and whose grandfather had died in Theresienstadt. Her father, a lawyer, had charge of the DP camps in the Vienna area.

As director of a large building company, Schubert's father had contacts with Yugoslav partisans during the war. Learning where the Germans planned to build rocket factories, he transmitted this knowledge to the Americans, and was arrested by the Gestapo. During his incarceration he was forced to witness executions six times, but his own life was saved when the Gestapo building was hit by Allied bombs. Transferred to another prison he was protected by police officials who knew him from before the war, when he had been the publisher of the city's *Police Gazette*. After the war he was offered the position of police chief of Vienna, but declined it.

Professor Schubert himself was decorated for his resistance work against the Nazis.

"Before the Anschluss, we in Austria had about 5 percent Nazis and 5 percent anti-Nazis," he said. "The remaining 90 percent were *Mitläufer*, went along with them. The Nazis had the benefit of these undecided masses. We were desperate and felt that the world had abandoned us."

IN 1966 Kurt Schubert became a full professor and established his university's Institute for Judaic Studies, which until then had been part of the department of Oriental studies. The institute has about 200 students. Most of them major in other subjects, but the institute offers them



Kurt Schubert (Z. Ackerman)

biblical and modern Hebrew, archeology, Talmud, Jewish art and the history of the Jewish communities in Austria and Italy. Yiddish and the history of East European Jewry is taught by Prof. Jacob Althoff, one of the two Jewish members of the faculty.

"Between 30 and 40 percent of our students today are Jews, and for many of them the studies we offer constitute their major tie to Judaism," said Schubert. "Our curriculum is broader than that offered at the University of Berlin, and we have produced many professors, such as those teaching at the universities of Cologne, Lucerne and Duisburg."

He stressed that the emphasis is on spoken Hebrew, which he first learned after the war from DPs in the camps and in Vienna hospitals.

Schubert first visited Israel in 1949 and has been here about 15 times since. "Even Theo is here on his fifth visit," he said, as the shaggy-haired, black poodle settled quietly behind his chair.

Turning to recent Austria-Israel relations, Schubert stressed that "I am not political," but before last year's Austrian presidential campaign he wrote against the election of Kurt Waldheim. Now that file is closed, but "with regard to anti-Semitism, the election has had only positive results — because officials now make efforts to fight the phenomenon. Interest in Jewish affairs has been aroused, and every week now there are events designed to foster better understanding."

## Attuned

### MUSIC REVIEW

CHAMBER MUSIC with Yehuda Hanani, cello and Emanuel Krasovsky, piano (Tel Aviv Museum, February 3). De Falla: Suite Populaire Espagnole; Beethoven: Sonata for piano and cello Op. 102 in D major; Weber: Two Pieces; Shostakovich: Piano Trio; Mendelssohn: Fifth movement from quartet "For the End of Time"; Prokofiev: Sonata for cello and piano in C major.

YEHUDA HANANI and Emanuel Krasovsky presented an exciting, unconventional programme in which they encapsulated a wide range of idioms, styles and compositional techniques. The two were beautifully attuned in both togetherness and emotional approach and all six items were fully interpreted.

Beethoven's immense complexity of form and musical content was clearly projected. It was a forceful and decisive performance where moods, tempi, dynamics and modes of expression changed intermittently, combining into an unbroken continuity.

The performance of two short Webern compositions, the first composed in 1899, still deeply romantic, with its broadly sung-out melody in

the cello and the other, of 1914, with its conciseness of pointillistic texture of single tones in the cello part and colouristic chords on the keyboard, was truly outstanding. Within the span of a few minutes the two artists created a whole world of emotional expression.

One of the evening's highlights was the performance of Messiaen's fifth movement from his famous quartet "For the End of Time," written in a prisoner-of-war camp during World War II. Hanani's cello part sang out in a deeply felt, prayer-like cantabile and Krasovsky's choral accompaniment created an extraordinary feeling of hopeless loneliness. Each change of harmony supplied a new sonority and when Krasovsky, in the middle of the movement, at the peak of a dynamic climax, suddenly changed into a vibrating pianissimo, we caught our breath.

In all six items, Hanani spoke a powerful instrumental and emotional language while Krasovsky revealed his deeply rooted, inner musical sensitivity. Joined together, the two created an immensely satisfying and enriching experience.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

## RELIGIOUS SERVICES

SHABBAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	4:41 p.m.	5:55 p.m.
Tel Aviv	4:59 p.m.	5:57 p.m.
Haifa	4:59 p.m.	5:55 p.m.
Beer Sheva	4:57 p.m.	5:56 p.m.
Elitz	5:00 p.m.	6:00 p.m.

Turn Parties: See Synagogue

### JERUSALEM

YESHURUN CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 5:00. Shabbat, Shabbat 8: Mincha 12:45, 4:40. Ma'ariv 5:55. Cantor: Eliahu Greenblatt.

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 5:05. Shabbat, Shabbat 8: Mincha 12:45. Cantor: Naphtali Heirsh and Eliahu Greenblatt.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative, 4 Agon, Friday, Mincha 5:00. Shabbat, Shabbat 8:30. Dvar Torah: Rabbi Dr. Yosef Green. Hazan: Hanan Rutenstein.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform), 13 King David St. Sat. 9:30 a.m.: Information on college programmes; guided tour of campus. Service: 10 a.m.

TEL AVIV: G.T. SYNAGOGUE, 110 Allenby Street, conducted by Cantor Shalom Lantosh. Roshan shir by Synagogue President Avraham Hatzroni, before Kabbalat Shabbat. Mincha 4:20. Shabbat 8:00.

### HAIFA

REDEEMER CHURCH (Lutheran) Murnan Rd., Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Services: English 9 a.m.; German 10:30 a.m. Tel. 25243, 828401.

CHRIST CHURCH (Anglican) opp. Citadel, 9:30 Family service, 7:00 p.m. Evening service, Bible study, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.

BAPTIST CONGREGATION, 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem, Saturday services: 9:30 a.m. Bible study, 10:30 a.m. Worship, Tel. 229422.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH OF SCOTLAND near Railway Station, Sunday morning service, 10 a.m., Tel. 1971469.

PENTECOSTAL WORSHIP SERVICE, MT. ZION FELLOWSHIP, 7:30 p.m. Fri., Sat. Sun., Tel. 82894.

ST. PAUL'S (Pentecostal), 32 Shitot Yisrael, 9:30 p.m. Saturday, Tel. 02-717048.

JERUSALEM CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY, YMCA auditorium, 26 King David St. Tel. 23116. Sunday, 7 p.m.

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**OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM.** Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century-World War II, 6 Or

**Haifa, Jewish Quarter, Old City.** Sun.-Thurs. 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

**SIR ISAAC AND LADY EDITH WOLFSON MUSEUM at Hecht's Salon.** Special Exhibition: "Sculpture of Fire," text by Abba Kovner, drawings by Dan Reisinger. Permanent Exhibition of Judaica, Diorama Room: History of Jewish People.

**MISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM.** Fisher Hall, Yasha Cyninai, "Exhibition of Fire," text by Abba Kovner, drawings by Dan Reisinger. Permanent Exhibition of Judaica, Diorama Room: History of Jewish People.

**ARPELARIA ART GALLERY.** 1 Hachsharim St. (near Cardo), Jewish Quarter. Homage to Avigdor Stelmanski. Works by: Katz, Karavan, Streichmann, Kupferman, Nikel. 12.2-12.3.87. Open, 10:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.-4:00-7:30 p.m. 02-282911.

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**ART GUIDE**

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# Ma'ariv

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When the capital development of a country becomes a by-product of the activities of a casino, the job is likely to be ill-done.

J.M. Keynes, The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money

THERE IS A broad consensus among Israel's economists that future growth depends on the government's ability to carry out a sweeping reform of the capital market. The need for drastic action reflects the extent of the 1983 collapse of the Tel Aviv stock exchange, and the subsequent failure to restore investors' confidence. The purpose of this article is to try to provide some insights into three perplexing questions:

- What went wrong in 1983?
- What salient factors were involved in the financial crisis?
- What can be done now to restore the capital market?

In many ways, the year 1983 was for Israel what 1929 was for America. In January, 1983, the market for non-bank shares collapsed, and by year's end investors were left with only about 20 cents on the dollar. One doesn't have to look far to find the reasons for the collapse. The three preceding years (1980-1982) were marked by a speculative bubble of Alice-in-Wonderland proportions. A \$100 investment in a cross-section of shares made at the beginning of 1980 was worth \$571 at the end of 1982, and this took place during a period of rampant inflation and declining real corporate profits.

A remarkable combination of irresponsible promotion, greed, stock manipulation, innovative accounting (or worse) and an ineffectual, ostrich-like securities authority (Israel's SEC) produced

the financial balloon which was finally pricked in January 1983.

Nine months later, the capital market was rocked by an even more far-reaching crisis - the collapse of the market for bank shares. For more than a decade, Israel's leading commercial banks had been systematically intervening in the stock market. In order to compete with the government's issues of index-linked bonds and dollar-denominated savings accounts, the banks, in effect, turned their shares into a kind of super-security offering investors the best of both worlds: high returns like equities and low risk like bonds.

A \$100 investment in bank shares made at the beginning of 1980 had a market value of \$262 three years later (i.e., a compounded annual return of 38%) and this return was earned on a liquid asset! Once again, these returns were purely the product of stock manipulation. During these same years, the banks themselves suffered serious losses.

When in the fall of 1983, expectations of devaluation led investors to dump their shares in favour of dollar-denominated investments, the banks found themselves saddled with over \$900 million worth of repurchased shares, and without the financial means necessary to continue the support of their shares in the market. The government intervened, trading on the stock market was suspended, and the bank shares were converted, for all practical purposes, into government bonds. In one stroke, Israel's internal debt was increased by \$7 billion and the capital market was paralysed. And when the bank shares fell due for redemption in two years, the government, unless action

be fulfilling the role of lender of last resort. This plan has already been approved on the understanding that the financially sound UKM kibbutzim would help the weaker ones and that the affected settlements would implement a recovery plan involving cuts in standards of living and spending.

On the face of it, the plan is a rational one. But Matza, who has been busy trying to prevent the package from being approved, has no time for rational arguments. Instead he has been trying to tell everybody that the kibbutzim's troubles - all of their troubles - stem from "financial adventures" in the stock exchange, or from their connection with suspected embezzler David Balas. Matza, of course, has found no time to produce proof.

But the peak of cynicism was reached by the Likud MK some days ago, when he said that the only thing he wanted was to get the "priorities right." In an interview, he explained that he wanted increased aid for development towns, and that he would like to give greater priority to that issue.

Strangely enough, MK Matza did not think about "development towns" some weeks before, when, together with his Likud colleagues on the Knesset Finance Committee, he pushed through a motion demanding that the Treasury grant NIS 30 million to Haim Shiff, a hotelier and an active Herut member, to help him out of his financial troubles. Unlike the UKM's package, the committee did not receive any request from the Treasury on Shiff. Unlike the UKM, Shiff did not present a recovery plan

to the Treasury. This did not bother the Herut bosses. They wanted the money for their friend and benefactor, and they were determined to get it.

Not lagging far behind Matza is MK Haim Kaufman, who undertook to link the NIS 266 million to David Balas affair. It is worthwhile noting that this is not the first time that he has searched for some juicy scandal connected with the Labour Party.

In the fateful days of 1983, Kaufman was deputy finance minister. While the Treasury and the Bank of Israel were trying to prevent the major crisis that eventually erupted in October of that year, Kaufman's only concern was trying to convince reporters to deal with charges he never proved about alleged misleading reports by Tnuva to the government on milk production. Yoram Aridor, who was finance minister at the time, hardly bothered to consult him on any issue.

DESPITE the cynicism involved in the UKM package affair, it might have been possible to disregard it, considering it yet another in the endless series of petty rows between the Likud and the Labour Party. But this is not the case. This time, the Likud is not after the UKM or the Labour Party, but after money for West Bank settlements.

Thus, what began as a Herut re-

# Remove the shackles

Marshall Sarnat

is taken, may find itself the unwilling owner of the country's banking system.

Israel does not have a monopoly on speculative bubbles, nor is it the only country to have been led down the garden path by its bankers. Our main concern with 1983 is to ensure that the events of that dismal year do not prove harbingers of the future. But to achieve this goal, we must have some idea of the underlying causes of the breakdown.

On the surface, it would appear that the financial crisis was just one facet of the general weakening of Israel's economy in the first half of the 1980's - triple-digit inflation, disequilibrium of the balance of payments, war in Lebanon, etc. One is tempted to infer that if only these problems could be resolved, the capital market would be in a position to fulfil its economic functions effectively. Unfortunately, such an inference is not justified. In this past year a remarkable economic turn around has occurred in Israel. There has been a noteworthy, albeit tenuous, reduction in inflation, a significant improvement (with U.S. help) in foreign currency reserves and the war in Lebanon has ended. Even so, the capital market has not recovered.

THE ROOT CAUSES of the problem lie deeper and reflect the underlying structure of the capital market. From its very inception, Israel's capital market has been subjected to

government intervention on a scale unknown in the West. The bulk of the economy's medium-term and long-term savings (pension funds, savings schemes, life insurance etc.) is channelled to the government's budget. The other side of this coin is the government's role as principal supplier of medium-term and long-term finance to households and businesses.

For all practical purposes, the long-term capital market has been completely dominated by the Treasury. All new security issues must be approved by the Ministry of Finance. In parallel fashion, the Treasury also has the authority to approve the investment policies of the country's principal institutional investors - the retirement funds, pension funds and insurance companies. Thus, the government exercises control both over the supply of capital and over a very large part of the institutional demand for capital as well.

In the bond market the situation is particularly severe. The Treasury sets the terms (interest rate, duration, type of linkage, etc.) of the new issues, thereby precluding any competition for funds, so that allocation of capital in this market is made by administrative decree. Economic forces simply never come into play.

Government intervention, and the relatively small size of the

domestic market, precluded the emergence in Israel of institutions specializing only in securities. As a result, security market transactions became the province of Israel's commercial banks. The banks, which operate under the Central European concept of "universal banking," are the dominant non-government force in Israel's security market. Along with their subsidiaries, they are the country's principal underwriters, investment advisers, brokers, and managers of mutual funds and retirement funds. And until the collapse of the stock market they were also the principal issuers of common stock.

The banks and the government competed for the same pool of capital - the one via the bond market and the other via the market for shares. Thus, the 1983 financial crisis can be viewed as a special case of "crowding out." In their zeal to acquire a greater share of the pool of capital, the banks were led into the kind of activities which have been documented by the Bejski Commission. The government, on the other hand, was also preoccupied with the raising of capital to fund its massive budget deficits. In such an environment, economic efficiency, investors' interests, even enforcement of the law, were expendable, and the collapse of the market became inevitable.

ASI HAVE stressed, our interest in the past is motivated by concern for the future. The Israeli economy paid

very dearly for the folly of 1983. It must never be permitted to happen again. What can we legitimately infer from that experience?

□ Government domination of the capital market in general, and of the bond market in particular, must be relaxed. A first step in this direction would be to abolish the Treasury's right to approve new issues. (The recent Treasury proposals speak only of the "waiving" of this right.)

□ The problem of "crowding out" must be confronted. Economic growth depends on the release of resources to the productive sectors. This, in turn, implies a need to reduce the budget deficit, thereby reducing the Treasury's demands on the capital market.

□ Steps should be taken to enhance competition in Israel's financial markets. This requires a relaxation of the commercial banks' grip on almost every facet of security trading - both primary and secondary. A step in this direction would be the implementation of the recommendations of the Bejski Commission which call for a drastic reduction in the banks' activities in the capital market. A desirable by-product of such a reduction might be the entry of additional institutional participants, both domestic, and hopefully also foreign, to fill the vacuum.

□ Finally, investors' confidence in the capital market must be restored. And while this is easier said than done, I believe it can be effected largely within the framework of existing legislation. The capital market needs law enforcement, not new laws and restrictions.

The creation of an efficient capital

market in Israel requires full disclosure and the free flow of information; it requires an end to stock manipulation and the abuse of insider information; it requires that the major participants in the investment process - underwriters, brokers, investment advisers, corporate directors, auditors, mutual and pension fund managers - be held responsible for their actions. These objectives are attainable within the existing legal framework with only relatively minor amendments. It was the "spirit of the law," and not the law itself, which was missing in 1983.

Efficiency means different things to different people, but there can be no doubt that Israel's economy has never had an efficient capital market. By any meaningful definition of that term, using a domestic capital market dominated by government and abused by its major participants is a little like fighting with one hand tied behind your back. One can only marvel at how much has been accomplished by Israel's entrepreneurs under such trying conditions. It comes as no surprise to most of us that government intervention in the capital market has proved a failure, even by the bureaucrats' own standards. It is time to remove the shackles and give market forces a chance.

This article is based on a lecture delivered in New York City on November 17, 1986 under the auspices of the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research and the Israel Centre for Social and Economic Progress. Reprinted with the author's permission.

The author is a professor at the Hebrew University's School of Business Administration and was a member of the Bejski Commission of Inquiry.

## Likud's ugly cynicism

Avi Temkin

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Thus, what began as a Herut re-

fusal to approve the UKM request in the Knesset Finance Committee has ended in an open rebellion by Herut MKs against Finance Minister Moshe Nissim. Using the UKM scheme as a hostage, they are trying to blackmail the Treasury to the tune of NIS 200 million.

This money, it should be stressed, would come from the budget. There would be no loan repayment. It would be an outright gift granted to settlements from the taxpayers. It is to conceal this fact that Herut members talk of the UKM package and the money for the settlements as if they were symmetrical.

The money for settlements should thus not be linked to the UKM. West Bank settlers are not talking about loans, but grants. Thus, the proper comparison is between the money Herut and Gush Emunim are seeking and the sums cut from social services, which have forced the government to tax child allotments, to introduce an education fee and to cut health services. The NIS 40m. grant which Herut wants the Treasury to transfer immediately to the settlements is NIS 10m. larger than the cut in the education budget, or the Health Ministry budget. The overall sum which the settlers want, some

NIS 200m., is exactly half of the overall budget cut approved by the cabinet on January 13.

What should be stressed is that the Herut position is not shared by other Likud members. Some, like MK Dan Tichon, are apparently well aware of the fate that awaits the budget once his colleagues from Herut get their way. Tichon is as willing as any other right-wing MKs to use the UKM rescue package as leverage against the Labour Party. But he wants to ensure that the budget, the original budget tabled by Nissim last week, is approved. He wants the Labour Party to vote for the budget, and apparently is less keen on the "money-for-settlements" issue.

Tichon's attitude apparently reflects the opinions of Nissim. In their eyes, it is legitimate to ensure Labour Party discipline and loyalty to a budget worked out between the finance minister and Vice Premier Shimon Peres. To them, using the UKM issue to "convince" rebellious Alignment back and front benchers to vote for the budget is legitimate within the ground rules of the national unity government. But to use it to get more money for settlements would be punishing the economy, not the Alignment.

NISSIM HAS been put in a very difficult spot by his Herut friends. On the one hand, party commit-

ments are a strong reason for him to give in to Herut demands. On the other hand, his commitments to Treasury officials are also powerful. Nissim will probably try to get by with a one-time grant to the settlements, as small as possible, in the range of NIS 40m., and try to avoid any commitments concerning long-term grants.

This will be no easy task for Nissim. The demands put forward by Kaufman, Matza and MK Yigal Cohen did not stem only from ideological considerations. In the bitter intra-party fighting going on within Herut, each faction and each individual is trying to outbid all others for support. When Nissim met with Likud MKs on Wednesday afternoon, Housing Minister David Levy and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon took turns encouraging Herut MKs to present extreme demands for money for Gush Emunim.

It is for this reason that Nissim, together with some Liberals like Ariel Weinstein or Dan Tichon, should not fear the Alignment as threatening the state budget. Instead they should be watching developments within Herut with growing apprehension. As the date for the renewal of Herut's convention gets nearer, each faction will try to prove that it is the most "patriotic." Each one will demand more money for new settlements in the occupied territories, or for existing ones.

However, there will be other sources of pressure. Soon the religious parties will make their voices heard demanding more money for religious institutions. The warnings voiced on Wednesday by Knesset

Finance Committee chairman Avraham Shapira of Agudat Yisrael, that he would not submit the budget to the committee for approval unless yeshivot get more money as well, was only the opening shot. If Shapira gets money, Shas and the National Religious Party will not wait very long before putting forward their own demands.

Nissim knows very well that very soon sums totalling hundreds of millions of shekels will be needed to save the country's moshavim. He also knows that a major financial crisis is threatening the defence industries, which will need large injections of public funds. The finance minister will need every available agora in the budget to bail these bodies out. But, if due to his party commitments, he lets his political associates bleed the budget, then not only will he lack the resources with which to handle these crises, but he will also face a growing government deficit.

Under such conditions, it would be only logical to speculate on the future of the national unity government. While the Labour Party is probably afraid of new elections, some of its leading members must be asking themselves whether in the present situation, which reminds one of an election campaign, it is worthwhile continuing the uneasy coalition with the Likud.

Whatever the outcome of the present row, it is certain that Treasury officials will not remember the 1987 budget fondly. We can only hope that it will not be one they would like to forget.

LAST MONTH'S 10 per cent devaluation of the shekel is bad news for the national unity government's economic recovery programme. In July 1985, Israel's policy-makers decided that the dollar would be worth NIS 1.5 shekels and that was that. They made this exchange-rate the keystone of their economic arch.

Now they have changed their minds. The allegedly permanent exchange-rate has ceased to be permanent. People had begun to believe the shekel was a hard currency; today they believe it no more.

Why did the authorities sacrifice this precious, new-found faith in the value of the nation's money? Because they wanted to achieve by devious and indirect means (through a currency manipulation) what they had failed to achieve openly and directly (through the budget).

Exporters are pleased, heaven knows why. They have won a respite - but for a few months only. We have

## Wages: the fly in the ointment

Israel has only one basic economic problem, the trade deficit, according to David Krivine. He argues that the recent devaluation was a cosmetic move which will not be of real assistance to the economy.

had devaluations before. In what respect is this one different?

The difference this time is that the workers will not be compensated in full for the higher prices brought about by the devaluation. The Histadrut agreed to subtract 2.7 per cent from the cost-of-living allowance.

Two qualifications were added, however. First, the waiver is only a postponement; the full allowance is due in the course of time. Second, the Histadrut did not agree to freeze wages. It is very emphatic about that, and for good reason. The message conveyed is that real wages will not drop this year. In other words,

what the workers do not get through the cost-of-living allowance they will get through wage bargaining.

WE ARE TALKING about exports. Why the emphasis on wages? Because that is the fly in the ointment. Israel has only one basic economic problem, all the rest is trimmings. The intractable root-problem is the trade deficit.

Last year exports increased, yet our economic situation worsened. Exports went up by less than scheduled, but all the same by an appreciable amount, from \$5.4b. to \$6.2b. (in the first 11 months of the year). Nevertheless, the trade deficit did not contract. On the contrary, it widened from \$1.8b. to \$2.2b.

The exporters' best efforts were bedevilled by the appetite of the importers, whose foreign-currency expenditure shot up from \$7.2b. to \$8.4b. It is all very frustrating. Exports rose by an applause-evoking \$800 million, but what is the use? All that and more was eaten up by the importers, who increased their purchases by \$1,200m.

It is nice to import more goods if we can afford to. As we cannot, it is a nasty extravagance, liable in the long run to endanger our national survival. The cause of that nasty extravagance is wage inflation.

Wage inflation both reduces exports (by making them uncompetitive) and swells imports (by expanding domestic consumption). According to Treasury calculations, wages rose in real terms - that is, compared with local prices - by 11.4 per cent in 1986. Dr. Shula Pesach of the Bank of Israel has compared the wage rise with export prices. She finds that wages as a cost to the exporter soared in 1986 by 19.3 per cent per worker.

THE EXPORTERS assumed they could recover that outlay through a devaluation, and clamoured for one. But what does a devaluation really do? It puts the process into reverse. Wages had overtaken prices. Very well: increase the price of the dollar - and prices will overtake wages. The workers will be back where they started.

That's fine, if the workers stay put and do nothing about it. But that act of self-denial will not happen. Had the labour force been prepared to accept a lower real wage, there would never have been a problem in

the first place. Having got the higher pay, they now state bluntly that they intend to keep it. Indeed, the National Budget officially predicts a 2 per cent wage rise in real wages per capita this year.

Wages were not supposed to go up last year. According to Shula Pesach, they had gone down (relative to export prices) by 5 per cent in 1984 and another 5 per cent in 1985. That was a result of the hard package-deals negotiated by the government with the Histadrut and the employers.

According to the current cost-of-living allowance system and the signed collective agreements, they should have stayed that way in 1986. But something happened at the workplace. The business sector, supposedly practical, hard-nosed men, jettisoned all the benefits gained by the politicians. Money resolutely saved by agreements between representative organizations at the national level were given back sheepishly to the labourers in the individual factories, at the behest of local works committees.

Nobody is sure why the employers gave in. One explanation is that they were sure they would get their money back through a devaluation. That is not plausible. Everybody knows devaluations do not work in Israel, owing to the linkage system. A more likely explanation of the exporters' generosity is that they could afford it.

THE EXPLOSION of wages in 1986 brought labour costs back to their level in 1983. Admittedly, that was not a good year for exports. The previous one was better, and can be taken as a norm. Compared with 1982, Dr. Pesach says, wages have risen by 7 per cent. Over a four-year period that cannot be regarded as exorbitant.

Indeed, exports increased in 1986. Invisibles dipped, owing to the drop in tourism (caused by factors which have nothing to do with economics). Visible exports rose sufficiently to cause an overall increase (visibles and invisibles together) of 5.7 per cent; and this before the recent devaluation.

Israel's respectable performance was achieved despite various upheavals in world markets. The drop in oil prices was a benefit that everybody shared, including our foreign



competitors. On the other hand, the dollar sagged in value by one-third compared with the European currencies (between July 1985 and the end of 1986).

Firms exporting to Europe benefited; those exporting to the U.S. were supposedly hard hit. There should have been a shift from the American to the European market. It happened, though inconsiderably. Sales to Europe rose by 8.5 per cent, those to the U.S. by 2.5 per cent.

The exporters yielded without any great struggle to their workers' wage demands and still managed, albeit with groans and moans, to stay in business. The conclusion drawn by not a few economists is that there should not have been a devaluation at all.

THE CRITICS do not imply that all is right with Israel's foreign trade and that our exports are expanding fast enough. The trade gap, which widened in 1986, is expected to narrow by \$300m. this year. It should narrow by three or four times as much, and this is a matter of the greatest urgency.

There is only one way of accomplishing it: by consuming less. Demand in Israel must be reduced. There is no point in trying to achieve that in a roundabout way. Those who resort to devaluation are guilty of escapism. Devaluation is an attempt to cut living standards while pretending not to. The government cannot get away with it.

Dr. Pesach asks (speaking personally and not on behalf of the central bank): If it is possible to reduce by 2.7 per cent the cost-of-living allowance that will be caused by the devaluation, why is it not possible instead to reduce by 2.7 per cent the cost-of-living allowance that is due in May anyhow, and forget about the devaluation?

In other words, if economies have to be made, why not make them and have done with it? Cut wages or cut the budget or cut both: in the last resort that is the task to be undertaken.

By not doing any of those things we reduce the pace of our progress to self-sufficiency, and prolong our dependence on foreign aid. That does not mean we are in crisis now. Our

their companies' audited accounts. They leave the country's collective balance of payments to the politicians.

The politicians have shown they cannot do much about that. But they must do something. Let them at least rope the employers into the battle for wage restraint. They can accomplish this by taking one crucial decision: make it clear that the magic potion of devaluation is henceforth taboo, proscribed, forbidden.

Firms wanting to make both ends meet must be given to understand that the government will grant them NIS 1.65 to the dollar on their export earnings, and not an agora more during the measurable future.

The rest is up to them. If their expenses exceed their earnings, they must either cut costs or file for bankruptcy. From now on, they should be told, there is no other option.

As long as the government of Israel is chronically incapable of eliminating the budget deficit, a no-subsidy, no-devaluation policy is the only way of keeping the economy on track.

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**GIVE US A HAND**

The Hanukkah Toy Fund is so much more than its name suggests. Now that the holiday is over, we turn our attention to the numerous special projects for Israel's underprivileged children. Please, be generous. And let us care for our little ones.

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The Israel Questions: for economical times Minister for Economic Affairs

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MARKET  
PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

Bonds  
change  
track

Just before we get back to the share market boom, it is worth pointing to an important development in the bond market that occurred over the past week.

The figures for January showed that, devaluation or not, dollar-linked bonds were not what people wanted, while index-linked bonds raced ahead on the back of renewed inflationary expectations. The first week in February has changed that picture.

The week began in the old vein, with index-linked bonds climbing fast and dollar-linked languishing. With every passing day that was reversed, so that on the last two trading days index-linked bonds declined in most cases while the dollar-linked issues were moving steadily ahead.

A glance at the main indices shows that the index of index-linked bonds has risen almost 12 per cent this year, with the long-dated Gali issues up more than 15 per cent while the short-dated 90 per cent-linked bonds managing far less. The index of bonds linked to or traded in foreign currency, however, has recovered sharply to over 105, with even the longest-dated dollar-linked bonds — and hence the least popular — namely the Ramon series, climbing to almost 104, where not long ago it was below 100.

These figures make no surface sense, given that inflation to date in 1987 is 3-4 per cent at most for both January and February, at least according to most estimates. Devaluation, on the other hand, is a certain 8-10 per cent, depending on what the dollar is up to abroad on any given day. Thus it would seem that dollar-linked bonds ought to have advanced more than index-linked ones.

In fact, of course, the market is trading on expectations, and once the devaluation was out of the way, the public tended to believe that stability in the exchange rate would last for some time. What became certain, therefore, was the inflationary spin-off of the devaluation, and these calculations sent money streaming out of dollar-linked assets, where there was little to seek, and into index-linked ones where the future seemed bright.

After three weeks of this trend, however, the expectations have clearly exhausted themselves. Twelve per cent in index-linked bonds covers inflation at least through March, and possibly into April as well. Even if the outlook on inflation is getting steadily worse, and hopes of a repeat of 1986's 20 per cent rate are rapidly fading into thin air, there was little immediate justification for further rises. Dollar-linked issues, buoyed perhaps by the end of the dollar's slump abroad and its partial recovery, began to correct their oversized position. The feeling that 1987 would see more than one devaluation began to take root and encouraged investors to take new positions in dollar-linked assets.

There is clearly room for dollar-linked bonds to rise further, and this includes the bank shares in the "arrangement," of course. Yield levels in that group are still near 17 per cent, and further rises in the dollar abroad, leading to a devaluation of the shekel at home, would immediately create renewed upward pressure. Index-linked bonds, on the other hand, may mark time next week while waiting for the January consumer price index that will be released the following Sunday.

As for the share market, the strength of the boom is evidenced by the refusal of the market to indulge in anything but the briefest of pauses between bouts of buying and broad price rises. Nevertheless, within the market there is a process of "rolling correction." Many shares that have no attraction to either institutional investors or speculators have not risen very much or are actually falling whenever the general market stops to catch its breath.

The key factor in this bull market, however, is the sheer weight of money pouring into it from a growing number of sources. The common thinking behind these decisions to move into shares is the conclusion that other investment channels offer poor returns by comparison. The fundamental support for the approach is found, often in an ex-post facto manner, in improved corporate profitability stemming from the devaluation, cost-of-living agreement, or any other handy excuse.

The fact that volume is increasing all the time is the best indicator that the trend will continue. The optimists even believe that the sharp rises to date are only the opening of a much wider boom, although the pessimists are already looking ahead to the next crash.

Leumi, Mizrahi chiefs under fire  
Infighting grows at banks

By PINHAS LANDAU

The position of Bank Leumi Chief Executive Officer Mordechai Einhorn was seriously weakened yesterday when the joint works committees of the bank voted overwhelmingly in favour of his dismissal, should he not resign first.

Leumi's board is due to meet on Sunday to discuss the crisis of confidence that has grown between Einhorn and most of the bank's work-force, including senior officers who have, in internal meetings, expressed fierce criticism of their chief executive.

Meanwhile, the tense state of management/staff relations in United Mizrahi Bank has been laid bare by the exchange of letters revealed yesterday between the committee representing branch managers and the new managing director, Michael Zivneri.

In the opinion of most observers, the internal situation within Leumi is such that Einhorn cannot function effectively. If he does not voluntarily resign the board may have no option but to dismiss him, despite earlier expressions of support for him.

Some participants in yesterday's meeting between Leumi Chairman Meir Heth and Einhorn, on the one side, and the works committees rep-

representatives on the other, claimed they detected a readiness on Heth's part to accept that Einhorn was in an impossible position and would have to step down.

The vote at the joint works committees meeting came after the session with Heth and Einhorn, which was itself the second in successive days. Yesterday's discussions between the two sides saw Einhorn defend himself against the attacks made against him by noting that he had not sought the \$400,000-a-year salary and bonus package offered him by ex-chairman Ernest Japhet, but he "had not the moral courage" to refuse it.

Einhorn also said he had returned the bonuses received over the last two years, and had had his salary cut 40 per cent.

None of these points, nor the support accorded Einhorn by Heth on behalf of Leumi's board of directors, swayed the works committees. They view the CEO as an active figure in the bank's management in recent years, and hence responsible for the recent state of scandals.

Shuki Negrin, the chairman of the more senior works committee, which has throughout been insistent that Einhorn must go, said in an interview on Israel Television last

night that Einhorn's defence was untenable.

"He didn't have the moral courage to stand up to Japhet, but he had the moral courage to face 10,000 workers and demand pay cuts and dismissals," said Negrin bitterly. The time had come "to have a clear system of reward and punishment in the bank."

The works committees vote, in which the representatives of each area vote as a unit, resulted in a near-unanimous front against the CEO and two other senior executives, with only the central area — comprising the greater Dan region less Tel Aviv proper — dissenting. The other officers whose resignations are being demanded because of their role in the scandal are Haim Buchsbaum, the head of Leumi's finance division, and Ya'acov Hirsh, the internal auditor.

A Mizrahi, in a letter to all branch managers and head office staff of similar rank, the branch management committee suggested taking a series of protest measures against Mizrahi's management. This elicited a quick, sharply-worded response from managing director Zivneri, also in writing. Zivneri emphasized that senior management appointments were his responsibility and



Mordechai Einhorn (Israel Sun)

that interference from the branch managers and head office staff was unwarranted.

Zivneri was appointed December 31, after Tefahot boss Moshe Man gave up the post after a five-month stay. Zivneri, a long-time lieutenant of ex-managing director Aharon Meir.

Shortly thereafter, Zivneri appointed David Blumberg as head of the bank's international division. Blumberg joined the Mizrahi group six years ago and was head of the small Finance and Trade Bank subsidiary. His promotion to the prestigious international department aroused the ire of many middle-rank executives who felt that they had been passed by.

Results point  
to differences in  
U.S., Israel law

Post Finance Reporter

The appearance of financial statements from Israeli banks' American subsidiaries — Leumi's have not yet been published, but are expected shortly — highlights the discrepancies between U.S. and Israeli reporting requirements.

Almost all the major American banks had published their 1986 results by the end of January, while the first Israeli banking group to have done so is expected to appear by the end of February or early March. The major banks do not intend to publish their figures until mid- or late March at the earliest.

Indeed, the publication of results is not yet possible, even if the banks wanted to proceed with them, because the Bank of Israel has new accounting changes in the works that still require consultation, argument and polishing up before the accountants can do their job on the banks' books.

sheet was on the asset side, where loans outstanding grew 19 per cent to \$1.17b. This still represents a small proportion of total assets — over half of the bank's assets are in the highly liquid form of cash and bank deposits. But the sharp increase in loans reflects a clear policy change from the traditionally highly conservative strategy that characterized Discount New York.

Loans to consumers and firms are much more profitable, but bring with them a higher degree of risk. It would appear that management is prepared to take on more risk in the bid to boost profits.

Profit growth last year nevertheless suffered from the need to significantly increase the amount set aside for bad debts, which rose to \$5.67m. Profit margins generally declined in the U.S. as a result of the drop in interest rates, so that had the loan portfolio not expanded, profit would have fallen by even more.

The effects of the more aggressive lending policy are likely to have a greater impact on profits this year.

Discount profit plunges  
Mizrahi U.S. net improves

By PINHAS LANDAU

Post Finance Reporter

United Mizrahi Bank's American subsidiary, UMB Trust Co. of New York, reported yesterday a 10 per cent gain in net profit to \$5.8 million in 1986 from the year before, while gross profit soared 25 per cent to \$12.7m.

Provisions for bad debts were apparently the factor that explained the discrepancy between the growth on gross and net profits.

Earlier Israel Discount Bank of New York, the 85 per cent-owned U.S. subsidiary of Israel Discount Bank, and the largest Israeli-owned bank in the U.S., reported net profits were off 25 per cent from 1985 to \$12.2m.

The net profit achieved allowed UMB a return on average equity of

12.1 per cent, emphasizing again the difference between its results and those of Discount New York.

UMB, however, is a much smaller bank, with total assets of only \$638m., making both rapid growth and higher profits easier to achieve.

Discount's balance sheet grew \$50m. to \$3.73 billion, while total equity climbed from \$216m. to \$224m. The redemption of some of the capital notes reduced the growth of equity that would otherwise have accrued from the addition of the full \$12m. net profit figure, but "primary" equity — comprising common stock, surpluses and undistributed profits, without capital notes — rose \$12m. to \$188m.

Discount's capital adequacy, measured as the ratio of equity to total assets, thus stood at the end of last year at almost 6 per cent, which is the level demanded by U.S. regulatory authorities. However, the slow growth of capital crimps Discount's ability to grow and explains why the balance sheet total remained almost static.

The main feature of the balance

Airlines  
to Europe  
to go up 6%

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Post Aviation Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Air fares from Israel to Europe are to rise by 6 per cent on April 1, and the government said it might approve an additional increase if the airlines reduce fares from Europe here.

Shai Shohami, the director of the Civil Aviation Administration, told *The Jerusalem Post* that the government authorized the increase after the airlines presented figures showing their costs had increased since Transport Minister Haim Corfu froze prices in April 1984.

The airlines had requested a 12 per cent raise, claiming their revenues, which are denominated in dollars, dropped because of the U.S. currency's drop in value against the European currencies. However, the government kept the increase in fares to 6 per cent, arguing that the price of fuel had dropped, which mitigated the decline in dollar revenues.

When the government helped the airlines and travel agents "clean" the market last year by banning under-the-counter reductions and making it a criminal offence to charge less than the official fare, Corfu had promised prices would go down. His ministry had argued that those measures would enable the airlines to reduce commissions to agents, and that in turn would allow them to reduce fares.

Reminded of that promise, yesterday, one of Corfu's aides said that if not for those measures prices would have risen 11 per cent.

Shohami said prices for trips originating in Israel are still as much as 20 per cent less than prices for flights originating in Europe. If the carriers would reduce fares in Europe, to attract more tourists here, the Ministry would likely raise — once again — fares for Israelis, he added.

Overseas travel soars

The number of Israelis who travelled abroad jumped 30 per cent last year from 1985 to 655,000, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported on Wednesday. The figure, however, marked a 4 per cent drop from 1984, which was the record year for travel abroad.

In the last three months of 1986, 155,000 Israelis went abroad, a 31 per cent gain over fourth-quarter 1985 figures and a 14 per cent rise from the same time in 1984.

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

## MARKET STATISTICS

## Indices:

General Share Index	118.89 +0.39%
Non-Bank Index	133.02 +1.04%
Arrangement Cos.	133.28 +0.96%
Insurance	124.07 +0.83%
Commerce, Services	128.90 +0.70%
Real Estate	127.80 +1.13%
Industrials	134.52 +0.81%
Textiles	131.21 +3.98%
Metals	128.02 +0.18%
Electronics	142.11 +1.48%
Chemicals	132.17 +0.09%
Industrial Invest.	152.70 +0.48%
Investment Cos.	142.19 +2.96%
General Bond Index	110.82 -0.13%
Index-linked Bonds	111.70 -0.24%
Fully-linked	113.92 -0.18%
Partially-linked	108.23 +0.22%
Dollar-linked Bonds	104.64 +0.60%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	107.04 +0.15%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	110.19 -0.21%
Long-term 5+ yrs	113.14 UC

## Turnovers:

Shares - total	NIS 21,431,400
Arrangement	NIS 1,593,000
Non-Bank	NIS 19,838,400
Bonds - total	NIS 7,430,400
Index-linked	NIS 4,261,300
Dollar-linked	NIS 2,170,800
Treasury Bills	NIS 3,794,900

Share Movements:	
Advances	140 (237)
Declines	24 (88)
of which 5% +	1 (3)
of which 5% -	134 (34)
Unchanged	21 (4)
Trading Halt	0 (1)
Unchanged	121 (128)
Trading Halt	27 (28)

Bond Market Trends:	
Index-linked:	Falls to 1%
3% fully-linked	Falls to 1%

4.25% fully-linked	Falls to 1%
80% linked	Stable/Falls to 2%
Double-linked	Stable
Dollar-linked:	
Admon	Rises to 1.5%
Rimon	Rises to 1.5%
Gilboa	Rises to 1%
For. Ctr. denominated	Mixed to 1%
Treasury Bills (annual yield)	21.05-21.95%

Arrangement yields:	
IDB ord.	16.86%
Union 0.1	16.86%
Discount A	16.70%
Leumi 1	16.77%
Hapoalim r.	16.94%
General A	17.10%
Leumi stock	16.09%
Fin. Trade 1	16.65%

## SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%
General Share Index	118.89	118.89	+0.39%
Non-Bank Index	133.02	133.02	+1.04%
Arrangement Cos.	133.28	133.28	+0.96%
Insurance	124.07	124.07	+0.83%
Commerce, Services	128.90	128.90	+0.70%
Real Estate	127.80	127.80	+1.13%
Industrials	134.52	134.52	+0.81%
Textiles	131.21	131.21	+3.98%
Metals	128.02	128.02	+0.18%
Electronics	142.11	142.11	+1.48%
Chemicals	132.17	132.17	+0.09%
Industrial Invest.	152.70	152.70	+0.48%
Investment Cos.	142.19	142.19	+2.96%
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Fully-linked	113.92	113.92	-0.18%
Partially-linked	108.23	108.23	+0.22%
Dollar-linked Bonds	104.64	104.64	+0.60%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	107.04	107.04	+0.15%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	110.19	110.19	-0.21%
Long-term 5+ yrs	113.14	113.14	UC

Name	Price	Volume	%
General Share Index	118.89	118.89	+0.39%
Non-Bank Index	133.02	133.02	+1.04%
Arrangement Cos.	133.28	133.28	+0.96%
Insurance	124.07	124.07	+0.83%
Commerce, Services	128.90	128.90	+0.70%
Real Estate	127.80	127.80	+1.13%
Industrials	134.52	134.52	+0.81%
Textiles	131.21	131.21	+3.98%
Metals	128.02	128.02	+0.18%
Electronics	142.11	142.11	+1.48%
Chemicals	132.17	132.17	+0.09%
Industrial Invest.	152.70	152.70	+0.48%
Investment Cos.	142.19	142.19	+2.96%
General Bond Index	110.82	110.82	-0.13%
Index-linked Bonds	111.70	111.70	-0.24%
Fully-linked	113.92	113.92	-0.18%
Partially-linked	108.23	108.23	+0.22%
Dollar-linked Bonds	104.64	104.64	+0.60%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	107.04	107.04	+0.15%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	110.19	110.19	-0.21%
Long-term 5+ yrs	113.14	113.14	UC

Name	Price	Volume	%
General Share Index	118.89	118.89	+0.39%
Non-Bank Index	133.02	133.02	+1.04%
Arrangement Cos.	133.28	133.28	+0.96%
Insurance	124.07	124.07	+0.83%
Commerce, Services	128.90	128.90	+0.70%
Real Estate	127.80	127.80	+1.13%
Industrials	134.52	134.52	+0.81%
Textiles	131.21	131.21	+3.98%
Metals	128.02	128.02	+0.18%
Electronics	142.11	142.11	+1.48%
Chemicals	132.17	132.17	+0.09%
Industrial Invest.	152.70	152.70	+0.48%
Investment Cos.	142.19	142.19	+2.96%
General Bond Index	110.82	110.82	-0.13%
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Team 1	1020	3274	-2.1
<b>Real Estate, Building and Agriculture</b>			
Azorim	1130	14236	-
Eilon	562	22889	-1.7
Africa Isr. 0.1	50250	567	+2.4
Dankner	5705	500	+3.6
Prop. & Bldg.	4990	661	+1.2
Baystate 0.1	5618	1043	+0.4
ILDC r	83400	415	+2.0



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## What's in a denial?

CAIRO has informed Jerusalem that there is no truth to the report that Defence Minister Mohammed Abdel-Halim Abu Ghazala, speaking at a closed session of the Egyptian parliament's Defence and National Security Committee last month, referred to Israel as still Egypt's "principal and sole enemy," and boasted that Egypt and Syria, acting in unison, could "crush" this country and regain Arab rights.

At first disturbed by the report, Jerusalem has decided to accept the Egyptian denial and to treat the matter as closed.

One important reason for the decision is that the belligerent statement alleged to have been made by Field Marshal Abu Ghazala did not appear in any Egyptian newspaper. The reason why it did not, however, is that the Egyptian authorities banned publication of the report, and confiscated all copies of an opposition paper that defied the ban.

But this does not make the report untrue. On the contrary, it only proves that it is based on fact, but that President Mubarak, unable or unwilling to fire his defence minister for this latest in a series of indiscretions on the issue of peace with Israel, chose the easy way to spare himself trouble with the U.S., Egypt's current mainstay.

And then, when the report leaked out all the same to a pro-Libyan publication in Beirut, he simply denied it.

The report, then, is true, and the only pertinent question is how to respond to it. Premier Yitzhak Shamir responded to it, before the Egyptian denial arrived, with a deep sigh, deploring the persistence in "the land of the Nile" of a doctrine that should by now have vanished from it, and by consoling himself and the people of Israel with the charming thought that "no peace lasts forever," but that Israel's armed might would forever safeguard it. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres evidently thinks that the Abu Ghazala incident is too trifling to warrant stirring the waters of the Nile on the eve of his own scheduled visit to Cairo later this month.

Neither response can be deemed appropriate to the gravity of Defence Minister Abu Ghazala's remarks.

Peace-minded Israelis have not expected Egyptian leaders to turn into Israeli nationalists as a result of the peace. But they have expected Egypt to view the peace as something better than a formal, or easily breakable, commitment to non-belligerence. That expectation has only been strengthened by the signing of the package deal on arbitration for Taba last year.

For an opposition leader to speak as Field Marshal Abu Ghazala did would have come as no surprise: a sizable minority of Egyptians, on both the left and the right, would evidently prefer to see the peace treaty spiked. But a defence minister is supposed to represent his government's policy, and that surely applies to Field Marshal Abu Ghazala, who is the No. 2 man in Egypt. Egypt's official policy, as Mr. Mubarak told Hafez Assad in Kuwait last week, is to adhere to the peace with Israel.

Field Marshal Abu Ghazala may well be exasperated by the slow pace of Egypt's return to the Arab fold, from which it was ousted in consequence of Anwar Sadat's peace initiative. The treaty of peace does not, however, include any undertaking by Israel to help Egypt retrieve the position it held within the Arab world until 1978. By pandering to the grossest anti-Israel feelings still alive in Egypt, the defence minister has marked himself as a foe of the peace.

The minister's only defence can be that his own exasperation with Israel is shared by the quite substantial peace-minded group in Egypt. That, indeed, is the case. In the Camp David accords Israel pledged to contribute of its own to an agreed solution of the Palestinian problem. Israel's Egyptian friends are first to observe that, to date, its only significant contribution to that end has consisted in avoiding to annex the occupied territories.

Annexation is, of course, barred by Camp David and the present government's policy guidelines. But the main explanation openly given by Premier Shamir for avoiding it is that "we do not need to annex that which is ours." Not even the most obtuse Egyptian will fail to get the message.

The conception behind that message is not a basis for a lasting peace with Egypt, and those who champion it are only playing into the hands of the anti-peace party in Cairo.

## SOVIET JEWS

(Continued from Page One)

The USSR frees 20,000, or 50,000, for example.

Another former Prisoner of Zion, Yosef Mendelevitch, chairman of the Jerusalem-based Soviet Jewry Information and Education Centre, warned last night that the West might accept Soviet token gestures and thus leave hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews stranded. He felt that the Israel government was hinting to the Soviets that a few thousand released Jews would be sufficient. "I say the opposite, I say 10,000 now and many more afterwards."

There were reports yesterday of increasing pressure on the families of Prisoners of Zion in the Soviet Union to ask for pardons in a scenario in which the Soviets will offer amnesty to the fewer than 20 refugees who are serving terms in Soviet prisons and labour camps.

Former prisoner of Zion Ida Nudel, who spoke from Bendery, Moldavia, to her sister in Rehovot, Ilana Fridman, last week, said that she has seen no signs of *glasnost* (openness) on the issue of Soviet Jews. She was pessimistic about her own chances for getting out, as well as for the movement in general.

Nudel has been a refusenik for 16 years. There are an estimated 11,000 refuseniks (Jews who have applied for exit visas and been turned down) and another 400,000 Soviet Jews who have indicated their desire to leave the USSR.

The Soviet Jewry Education and Information Centre last night issued a statement saying, "The only new development in Ida Nudel's case happened about two weeks ago when she renewed her emigration application in the local Ovir (emigration) office in Bendery. There was nothing in this reapplication or in the talks she had with Ovir officials that indicates any positive change in Soviet treatment of this former Prisoner of Zion. Aside from individual cases (Yuli Edelstein, who in November 1986 rejected the Prison Authorities' offer to reconsider his plea of not guilty, and Roald Zelichenok, who rejected the same offer at the end of January 1987), we are not aware of any offer of an amnesty made to Prisoners of Zion in general."

In another development yesterday, Andrei Sakharov said that at least seven more dissidents in the Soviet Union have been moved from distant prisons to facilities close to their homes. But he could not say whether it was in preparation for their release.

"It sort of fits the pattern, but we don't know," the dissident leader said in a telephone interview.

Sakharov, who was allowed to return to Moscow in December after nearly seven years of internal exile in Gorky, confirmed last week that dissidents Anatoly Koryagin and Sergei Khodorovich had been moved to prisons near their homes and that their families had been advised to apply to emigrate.

## Washington itinerary

Wolf Blitzer

PRIME MINISTER Yitzhak Shamir is likely to face two different lines of questioning when he visits Washington later this month. From the news media and members of congress he will face a tough grilling about Israel's controversial involvement in the Iran arms sales and the alleged diversion of funds to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua. From the Reagan administration he will be asked about the Arab-Israeli peace process - specifically, what Israel might be able to do to get it off the ground.

Administration officials, Israeli diplomats and other informed sources in Washington agree that Shamir is likely to do better during his private sessions with President Reagan, Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz and other top policy-makers than during his encounters with the rough Washington press corps. Congressmen and senators, anxious not to anger Israel and its politically influential supporters too much, will be very polite to Shamir; but several of them can be expected to pose some very tough questions as well.

Shamir will almost certainly stick to the public denials issued by the Israeli government in recent weeks - denials that Israel promoted the arms sales to Iran or knew anything about the diversion of profits to the Contras. In addition, the prime minister can be expected to restate the Israeli position that Israel does not "directly" support the Contras.

But in the face of the most recent evidence included in the 65-page Senate Intelligence Committee report on the affair, Shamir has a difficult task ahead. One of the factors that led to the fiasco, the report concluded, was "Israel's strong and continuing interest in furthering contact with Iran." And in connection with the Contra aspect of the affair, Shamir will be pressed to explain what counter-terrorism adviser Amir Nir knew, and when he knew it.

Colonel Oliver North, the dismissed National Security Council staffer, has charged that the entire idea was Nir's. Some of the exchanges with the press on this matter can be expected to be rather shrill.

The prime minister's reception at the White House and the State Department will be considerably warmer. The president and his aides

have no great desire to get into any arguments with Israel right now. They have enough problems of their own. Indeed, they need Israel's cooperation in several areas, including their effort to revive the stalled peace process. At a minimum, the administration would like to create the impression of some positive movement.

THE AMERICANS were hoping that Egyptian President Mubarak would quickly follow Shamir to Washington, but that now seems uncertain at best. Jordan's King Hussein, according to one scenario, was supposed to follow Mubarak. The stream of Arab and Israeli visitors to Washington would at least create the impression of movement. But no one knows whether they will come.

The whole purpose of Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Richard Murphy's recent swing through the Middle East was to help lay the groundwork for such "movement" in order to get some sort of fresh dialogue going. But the moderate Arabs are somewhat reluctant to get involved, still incensed by the revelations about U.S. arms going to Iran in close cooperation with Israel.

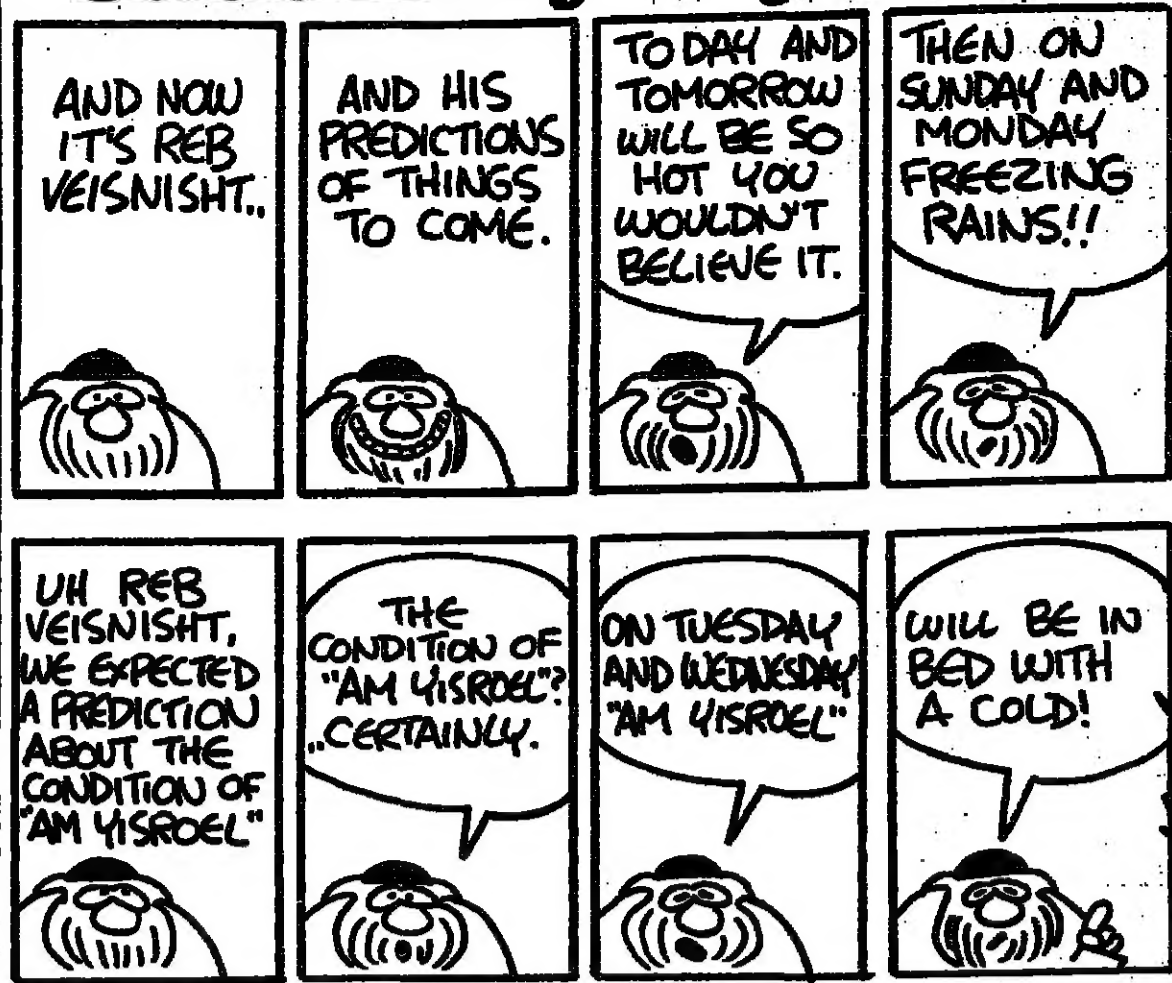
The Americans have not yet thrown in their hands. But their effort, at the moment, seems only half-hearted. There is no great desire in the Reagan administration to take too many risks in the peace process and to invest the enormous amount of top-level time and energy that would be required.

Murphy may be a talented diplomat, but he needs help from above, and both Reagan and Shultz have too many other problems on their minds right now to focus much attention on a peace process whose prospects for success are remote, at best. And Shultz, still smarting from the Iran affair, may yet be leaving office sooner rather than later.

SHAMIR WILL BE arriving in the U.S. at a time when the country is obsessed with the Iran/Contra affair and the latest wave of terrorism and hostage-taking in Lebanon. The spotlight is again on international terrorism and what the U.S. can do to combat it.

There is sharp criticism of the administration for having left the

## The Friday Dry Bones



impression that it was willing to swap arms to Iran for the release of American hostages in Lebanon, encouraging terrorists to seize yet more hostages.

Tension has been mounting in the Eastern Mediterranean and Persian Gulf as U.S. aircraft carriers and battleships have been deployed for possible action. Most observers here doubt that there will be any military operation unless more American hostages are killed. If that happens, the U.S. is prepared with a whole list of terrorist targets in Lebanon.

To a certain extent, this latest round of escalated tension in Lebanon and the Persian Gulf should help Shamir during his stay in the U.S. Israel is widely seen as an ally in the struggle against terrorism. Israel can also offer some concrete assistance in this fight, fighting a common enemy. The more Shamir keeps the focus of attention on combating terrorism, the more receptive his American audience will become.

Administration officials, while prepared to welcome Shamir, will avoid too warm a welcome - one that might be seen in Israel as undercutting the political base of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and the Labour Party. The Americans are still very sensitive to what they regard as Labour's more flexible policies in the peace process.

But if one of Shamir's objectives

in making this U.S. trip right now is to prove to his domestic constituents that he can manage the Washington portfolio as smoothly as his predecessor, he will probably succeed. No one in a top position in the administration wants to get into a fight with him.

ONE THING that could mar the visit is the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal. Pollard's long-delayed sentencing is now set for March 4, well after Shamir's return home. But some 10 days to two weeks before that, Pollard's lawyers are scheduled to release his pre-sentencing memorandum to the judge. This will argue his side of the story, and can be expected to generate considerable news media attention, perhaps while Shamir is still in Washington. And this could prove to be rather embarrassing for him and for Israel.

Another potentially awkward subject for Shamir will be South Africa. Israel's relationship with the apartheid regime is coming under close scrutiny these days. Since the enactment of U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa, the State Department has been preparing a study on those countries still engaged in a military relationship with Pretoria. A final report is not due until early April. The sanctions law even raises the possibility that U.S. military aid should be cut off to those countries

violating the ban on military sales to South Africa. That remains far-fetched, as far as Israel is concerned. But Shamir can still expect some hard questions on this very sensitive subject.

In addition to Washington, the prime minister will visit New York and Los Angeles, attending several meetings with a cross-section of the Jewish and non-Jewish communities. From the Jews, he will be pressed to ease up on the matter of religious pluralism in Israel.

Reform and Conservative Jewish activists in America are becoming increasingly frustrated by the Orthodox stranglehold over religious life in Israel. They want to make sure that their form of Judaism has equal rights in Israel, and they are becoming increasingly outspoken in letting visiting Israeli leaders know their views. "Shamir will hear an earful," one American Jewish leader said.

Israel remains popular in the United States, according to recent public opinion polls. But its image has been tarnished by the latest Iran/Contra revelations and the impression that Israeli leaders were lying about their roles. Shamir will have an opportunity to score some points. On the other hand, he may fall flat on his face.

The writer is Washington correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

## READERS' LETTERS

## YOUTH PROGRAMMES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - I wish to correct one of the statistics in your article of January 9 about "an English university for Israel."

You say that "...700-1,000 students attend the universities' one-year English language programmes..." As a matter of fact, over 1,500 students take a semester or year at one of the five overseas programmes - Bar-Ilan, Ben-Gurion, Haifa, Hebrew, and Tel Aviv Universities - that are currently offering courses in English.

The "Study in English in Israel" campaign, initiated by the University Service Department of the American Zionist Youth Foundation reaches out to thousands of Jewish students in order to inform them about the study opportunities in Israel that are available.

LISA KOHAN  
University Service Department  
New York.

## TABLE TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIPS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - It would be interesting to know what considerations influenced the government of India in deciding not to grant the Israeli table tennis team visas for the world championships to be held in India this year.

If any country is unable to make arrangements for accommodation, security, etc., for visiting teams from other countries, it should not qualify to hold the world event. It is for the controlling body of the game to ensure that all its members are treated alike by the country which has been awarded the honour and opportunity to stage the games.

If smaller countries like South Korea can host the Olympics, which have much bigger delegations of athletes from all over the world including Israel, there is no excuse for India to shy away from its responsibilities.

A sporting event should not be manipulated to demonstrate political preferences.

MOSHE VERULKAR  
Lod.

## PNAI

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - Our organization, Pnai (Parents of North American Israelis), wishes to locate members who have followed their children to Israel and have made aliyah, for whom we do not have an address in Israel. We wish to maintain contact by mailing them our national publication, *The Bridge*.

Interested former members should write to Helen Pfeffer, 8325 Sunrise Lakes Blvd., Sunrise, Florida 33322, or to Aliza Checkoway, 126 Derech Hayam, Haifa.

HELEN PFEFFER  
Haifa.

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## POLISH RIGHTEOUS GENTILES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - Mr. Zajackowski's letter on Polish Righteous Gentiles (February 1) draws attention to the unique place of Polish rescuers on Yad Vashem's roster of Righteous among the Nations. Some of the most touching and dramatic stories of the Holocaust originate in Poland.

The exceptionally harsh nature of the German occupation coupled with the then prevalent anti-Semitism among the broad masses made it doubly dangerous for rescuers to reach out to Jews in distress. The amount of courage, determination and compassion demanded of would-be rescuers in Poland, working with little, if any, support from the underground network, was hence relatively greater than in other Nazi-occupied countries in Western Europe. The rescue stories emanating from Poland are consequently of the most illustrious and edifying to be written in the annals of humanity.

Yad Vashem has kept pace with all petitions for recognition, based

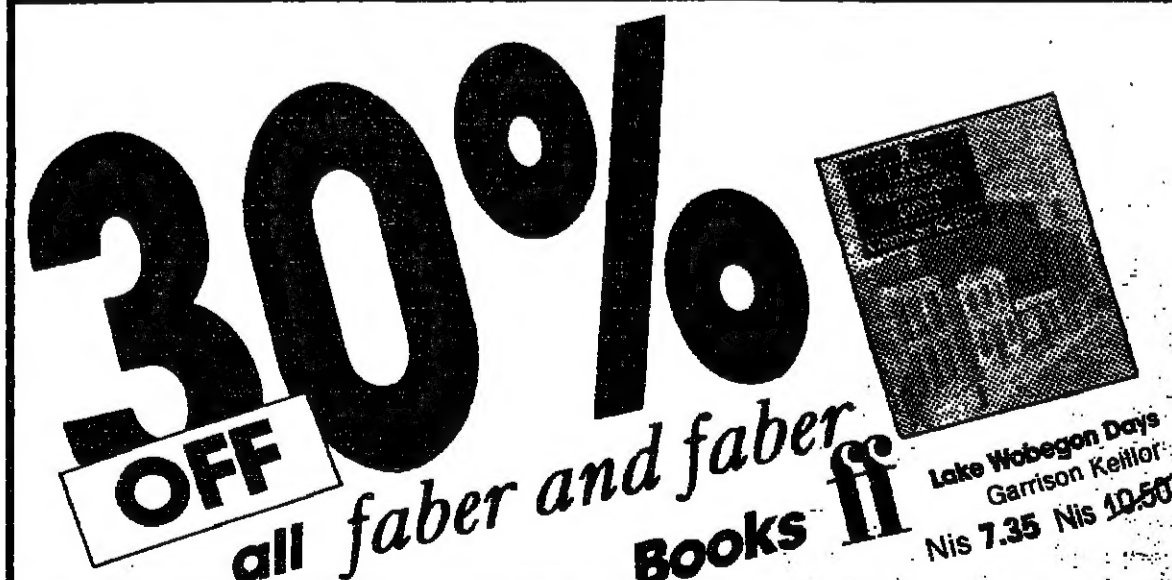
on testimonies by survivors. Where rescued persons have tarried in making their traumatic escape and rescue tales available to us, their rescuers were correspondingly not recognized in due time. Anna Borkowska, who aided Abba Kovner and his comrades of the Vilna Ghetto - and mentioned in Mr. Zajackowski's letter - was recognized in 1984, the same year that Mr. Kovner petitioned on her behalf.

As for the distribution of medals, this is largely a function of the bilateral relations between Israel and the rescuer's country of residence. Where normal and open relations exist between the two, the distribution of awards takes place normally within a year of recognition. It is to be hoped that the exchange of representatives with Poland will henceforth expedite the distribution of awards to Polish honorees.

MORDECAI PALDIEL,  
Dept. for the Righteous  
Yad Vashem  
Jerusalem.

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